THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOLUME IV.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

THE REVOLUTION IN 1688.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

BY DAVID HUME, Esq.

VOL. IV.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HENRY VIII.

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Wolsey's administration——Scotch affairs——Progress of Francis I.——Jealousy of Henry——Tournay delivered to France——Wolsey appointed legate——His manner of exercising that office——Death of the Emperor Maximilian——Charles, king of Spain, chosen emperor——Interview between Henry and Francis near Calais——The emperor Charles arrives in England——Mediation of Henry——Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

THE numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515. Wolsey's administration.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaisance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealousy, to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid ostentatious train of life should naturally have given birth. The archbishoprick of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishoprick of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishopricks filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues. The pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: Some even of the nobility put their children

children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and, both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition[a]. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses[b]. He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross: But not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of these rival sees[c]. The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said they were now sensible, that one crucifix alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

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Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than

 maintain

a Erasm. Epist. lib. 2. epist. 1. lib. 16. epist. 3. p. 501. Hollingshed, p. 847.

b Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe,

c Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1523.

maintain an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. He reſigned his office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was immediately delivered to Wolſey. If this new accumulation of dignity increaſed his enemies, it alſo ſerved to exalt his perſonal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever diſcovered greater impartiality in his deciſions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity[e].

The duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almoſt entirely exhauſted by projects and pleaſures, while his inclination for expence ſtill continued, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, reaped no advantage from his abſence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly diſguſted at the aſcendant acquired by Wolſey, withdrew himſelf wholly to the care of his dioceſe. The duke of Suffolk had alſo taken offence, that the king, by the cardinal's perſuaſion, had refuſed to pay a debt which he had contracted during his reſidence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Theſe incidents left Wolſey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king "not to ſuffer "the ſervant to be greater than his maſter:" Henry replied, "that he well knew how to retain all his "ſubjects in obedience;" but he continued ſtill an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counſels of the cardinal.

The public tranquillity was ſo well eſtabliſhed in England, the obedience of the people ſo entire, the general

e Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

general administration of justice, by the cardinal's means[e], so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his minister: They might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprizes, however fruitless and unnecessary. CHAP. XXVIII. 1513.

Scotch affairs.

The will of the late king of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried[f]: But notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promising hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preserving peace with England: But the jealousy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begat opposition to this measure. Lord Hume, in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, insisted on recalling the duke of Albany, son to a brother of James III. who had been banished into France, and who, having there married, had left posterity, that were the next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relations to their young sovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their situation, unpractised in their language; yet such was the favour attending the French alliance, and so great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept

e Erasm. lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish, Hall.

f Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

cepted the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany ſome time in France; but at length, ſenſible how important it was to keep Scotland in his intereſts, he permitted him to go over, and take poſſeſſion of the regency: He even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied ſuch a cloſe connection as might be thought ſomewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland, he made enquiries concerning the ſtate of the country, and character of the people; and he diſcovered a ſcene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy, and that not a cloſe one, of petty princes, than a regular ſyſtem of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, poſſeſſed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms, more than laws, prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or juſtice, was the virtue moſt valued and reſpected. The nobility, in whom the whole power reſided, were ſo connected by hereditary alliances, or ſo divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impoſſible, without employing an armed force, either to puniſh the moſt flagrant guilt, or give ſecurity to the moſt entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exerciſed on a hoſtile tribe, inſtead of making a perſon odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their eſteem and approbation; and, by rendering him uſeful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the neceſſity of mutual ſupport ſerved as a cloſe cement of amity among thoſe of the ſame kindred, the ſpirit of revenge againſt enemies, and the deſire of proſecuting the deadly feuds, (ſo they were called), ſtill appeared to be paſſions the moſt predominant among that uncultivated people.

The

The perſons to whom Albany, on his arrival, firſt applied for information with regard to the ſtate of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume [f]; and they repreſented that powerful nobleman as the chief ſource of public diſorders, and the great obſtacle to the execution of the laws, and the adminiſtration of juſtice. Before the authority of the magiſtrate could be eſtabliſhed, it was neceſſary, they ſaid, to make an example of this great offender; and, by the terror of his puniſhment, teach all leſſer criminals to pay reſpect to the power of their ſovereign. Albany, moved by theſe reaſons, was induced to forget Hume's paſt ſervices, to which he had, in a great meaſure, been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own ſafety, and from motives of revenge, to take meaſures in oppoſition to the regent. He applied himſelf to Angus and the queen dowager, and repreſented to them the danger to which the infant prince was expoſed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the ſtates had imprudently intruſted the whole authority of government. By his perſuaſion, Margaret formed the deſign of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conſpiracy was detected, ſhe herſelf, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where ſhe was ſoon after delivered of a daughter. CHAP. XXVII. 1515.

Henry, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to theſe malcontents, and aſſured them of his ſupport. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual ſuſpicions and

[f] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

prevailed. He was committed to custody under the care of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was, for some time, detained prisoner in his castle. But having persuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not more sincere than the former; and Home was so imprudent as to intrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned, and executed. No legal crime was proved against these brothers: It was only alledged, that, at the battle of Flouden, they had not done their duty in supporting the king; and as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt, produced against them, was far from being valid or convincing; and the people who loved them while living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but, as they destroy mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate animosities, their consequences are commonly fatal, both to the public, and to those who have recourse to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was, at that time, willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and was engaged to remain there for some years. During the absence of the regent, such confusions prevailed in Scotland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly disabled, both from offending its enemies, and assisting its friends. We have carried on the Scottish history

history some years beyond the present period; that, as that country had little connection with the general system of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those more memorable events which were transacted in the other kingdoms.

1515.

It was foreseen, that a young, active prince, like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which his predecessor, before his death, had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation were held to be sure presages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing secure behind him, he marched his armies towards the south of France; pretending that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian, duke of Milan, under their protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependence, they were determined, from views both of honour and of interest, to defend him against the invader[b]. They fortified themselves in all those valleys of the Alps through which they thought the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secrecy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis, one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of these later ages; and, it required all the heroic valour of this prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist

Progress of Francis I.

13th Sept.

[b] Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1, Guicciardini, lib. 12.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

sist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strowed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the mareschal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet seen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes[i]. After this great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open to Francis.

Jealousy of Henry.

The success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was, during that age, the seat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been shared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquisition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to. Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his sister, the queen dowager[k]. The repairing of the fortifications of Teroüenne was likewise regarded as a breach of treaty. But, above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the disgust which Wolsey had entertained against the French monarch.

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of the temporalties, because that prelate declined

i Histoire de la Ligue de Cambrey. k Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

clined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sove- CHAP. XXVIII.
reign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, 1515.
administrator of the bishoprick. As the cardinal wish-
ed to obtain the free and undisturbed enjoyment of
this revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him
to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in
France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay.
Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that
city, and who feared that the full establishment of
Wolsey in the bishoprick would prove an obstacle to
his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the
haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by ap-
plying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for
his settlement in the see. Wolsey, who expected to
be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect
from the greatest princes, resented the slight put up-
on him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek
an occasion of quarrel with that monarch [m].

Maximilian, the emperor, was ready to embrace
every overture for a new enterprize; especially if at-
tended with an offer of money, of which he was very
greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard
Pace, formerly secretary to Cardinal Bambridge, and
now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court
of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some consi-
derable payments to Maximilian [n]: He thence made
a journey into Switzerland, and, by like motives, en-
gaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the
emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a consider-
able army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he
retreated with his army into Germany, made peace
with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that repu-
blic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself,
in some measure, from all future access into Italy.
And Henry found, that, after expending five or six
hundred thousand ducats in order to gratify his own
and

m Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. n Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568.

and the cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that prince.

1515.

There were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present in his enmity against France: He could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles, prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy[o]. Henry, therefore, was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expence, by offering to make a resignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too gross to succeed, even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning, that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

1516. While an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had so long been looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson, Charles, to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority,

[o] Guicciardini, lib. 12.

authority, the more was Francis ſenſible of the neceſ- CHAP. XXVIII.
ſity he himſelf lay under of gaining the confidence
and friendſhip of Henry; and he took at laſt the only 1518.
method by which he could obtain ſucceſs, the paying of court, by preſents and flattery, to the haughty cardinal.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was diſpatched to 1518.
London, and he was directed to employ all his inſinuation and addreſs, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himſelf a place in Wolſey's good graces. After the ambaſſador had ſucceeded in his purpoſe, he took an opportunity of expreſſing his maſter's regret, that, by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a freindſhip which he ſo much valued as that of his eminence. Wolſey was not deaf to theſe honourable advances from ſo great a monarch; and he was thenceforth obſerved to expreſs himſelf, on all occaſions, in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his intereſts, Francis entered into ſuch a confidence with him, that he aſked his advice even in his moſt ſecret affairs; and had recourſe to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wiſdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no ſecret to the king of this private correſpondence; and Henry was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the great capacity of his miniſter, that, he ſaid, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himſelf [p].

When matters ſeemed ſufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his maſter's deſire of recovering Tournay; and Wolſey immediately, without heſitation, engaged to effect his purpoſe. He took an opportunity of repreſenting to the king and council, that Tournay lay ſo remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, in caſe of war, to keep the communication open between theſe two places:

[p] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518.

places: That as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: That, even in time of peace, it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: And that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

Tournay ceded to France.

These reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article[q]: And, least the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishoprick of Tournay.

The French monarch having succeeded so well in this negociation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on

[q] Memoirs du Bellay, lib. 1.

on the vanity and self-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter *father*, *tutor*, *governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negociation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and, if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment, and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: He was content to sound privately the opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom[r]: But when he found that all men were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell, soon after, into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline. CHAP. XXVIII. 1518.

The pride of Wolsey was now farther encreased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope, that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legantine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, Wolsey appointed legate.

r Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

[illegible] and even with [illegible] all the laws of [illegible] during a twelvemonth. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that [illegible] to which he was so much addicted. On [illegible] days, he was not content without having [illegible] after the manner of the pope himself: Not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption, in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. "Know ye not," said he, "that this man is drunk "with too much prosperity!"

The manner of exercising this office.

But Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office which he called the legantine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the king's favour, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to enquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted, when they saw a man who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure, so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But, to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life[s], whom he

I himself,

[s] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

himself, as chancellor, had, it is said, condemned for perjury: And as it is pretended, that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny: and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity, by paying large sums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops courts; particularly that of judging of wills and testaments; and his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical preferment, he presented to whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry [t].

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No one durst carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the discontents of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is not so blind any where as "in his own house: But do you, farther," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell him, if "any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: It only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham: But one London having prosecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him

t Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all the historians from the author here cited: There are many circumstances, however, very suspicious, both because of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1518. of malverſation and iniquity, the clamour at laſt reached the king's ears; and he expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure to the cardinal as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

1519. While Henry, indulging himſelf in pleaſure and amuſement, entruſted the government of his kingdom to this imperious miniſter, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; a man who, of himſelf, was indeed of little conſequence; but as his death left vacant the firſt ſtation among Chriſtian princes, it ſet the paſſions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the Imperial crown; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promiſed them ſucceſs in ſo great a point of ambition. Henry alſo was encouraged to advance his pretenſions; but his miniſter, Pace, who was diſpatched to the electors, found that he began to ſolicit too late, and that the votes of all theſe princes were already pre-engaged either on one ſide or the other.

12th Jan. Death of the emperor Maximilian.

Francis and Charles made profeſſion from the begininng of carrying on this rivalſhip with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs: The more fortunate, added he, will carry her; the other muſt reſt contented [u]. But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reaſonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to ſharpen the minds of the candidates againſt each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great diſguſt of the French monarch, who ſtill continued to the laſt in the belief, that the majority

Charles, king of Spain, choſen emperor.

[u] Balearis, lib. 16. Guicciardini, lib. 13.

majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation, at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs; which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negociations, especially the latter. The one, the more amiable man; the other, the greater monarch. The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: The emperor, by his designing, interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouze up a multitude of enemies, in the place of one whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes thus counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a sudden, so great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands: He inherited the conquest of Naples, of Granada: Election entitled him to the empire: Even the bounds

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of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich; populous, and being interposed between all the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, his singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

1520. Interview between Henry and Francis at Calais.

Francis was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendour, and his influence over both monarchs[w]. And

[w] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

And as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expence: Many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure [x]. An imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister. CHAP. XXVIII. 1520.

While Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour, as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's

The emperor Charles arrives in England. 25th May.

x Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 855.

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monarch's intereſts; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promiſes, becauſe Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely that, for many years, he ſhould be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry eaſily obſerved this courtſhip payed to his miniſter; but inſtead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a ſubject of vanity; and believed, that as his favour was Wolſey's ſole ſupport, the obeiſance of ſuch mighty monarchs to his ſervant, was in reality a more conſpicuous homage to his own grandeur.

30th May.

The day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guiſnes, a ſmall town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles diſtant; and the two monarchs met, for the firſt time, in the fields, at a place ſituated between theſe two towns, but ſtill within the Engliſh pale: For Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in conſideration of that prince's paſſing the ſea, that he might be preſent at the interview. Wolſey, to whom both kings had entruſted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumſtance, in order to do honour to his maſter. The nobility both of France and England here diſplayed their magnificence with ſuch emulation and profuſe expence, as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold*.

The two monarchs, after ſaluting each other in the moſt cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpoſe, and they held a ſecret conference together. Henry here propoſed to make ſome amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry, king*: Theſe were the firſt words; and he ſtopped a moment. He ſubjoined only the words *of England*, without adding

ing, *France*, the uſual ſtyle of the Engliſh monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed, by a ſmile, his approbation of it. y. CHAP. XXVIII. 1520.

He took an opportunity ſoon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himſelf, and incapable of diſtruſting others, was ſhocked at all the precautions which were obſerved, whenever he had an interview with the Engliſh monarch: The number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both ſides; Every ſtep was ſcrupulouſly meaſured and adjuſted: And if the two kings intended to pay a viſit to the queens, they departed from their reſpective quarters at the ſame inſtant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they paſſed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh at Guiſnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained ſo many diſhonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guiſnes. The guards were ſurpriſed at the preſence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my priſoners: Carry me to your maſter.* Henry was equally aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," ſaid he, "you have here played me the moſt agreeable trick "in the world, and have ſhowed me the full confi- "dence I may place in you: I ſurrender myſelf your "priſoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels[z]; and, putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made

y Memoires de Fleuranges.

z An angel was then eſtimated at ſeven ſhillings, or near twelve of our preſent money.

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made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar [a]. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhæreo præest; He prevails whom I favour* [b]: Expressing his own situation as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time, till their departure.

24th June. Henry paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress.

a Memoires de Fleuranges. b Mezeray.

fortreſs. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impreſſion, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the Houſe of Auſtria began ſenſibly to take the aſcendant over the French monarchy, the intereſts of England required that ſome ſupport ſhould be given to the latter, and above all, that any important wars ſhould be prevented, which might beſtow on either of them a deciſive ſuperiority over the other. But the jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt France has uſually prevented a cordial union between theſe nations: and Charles, ſenſible of this hereditary animoſity, and deſirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur) that he ſhould be entirely arbiter in any diſpute or difference that might ariſe between the monarchs. But the maſterpiece of Charles's politics was the ſecuring of Wolſey in his intereſts, by very important ſervices, and ſtill higher promiſes. He renewed aſſurances of aſſiſting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in preſent poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to the ſees of Badajox and Palencia in Caſtile. The acquiſitions of Wolſey were now become ſo exorbitant, that, joined to the penſions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to poſſeſs, his revenues were computed nearly equal to thoſe which belonged to the crown itſelf; and he ſpent them with a magnificence, or rather an oſtentation, which gave general offence to the people; and even leſſened his maſter in the eyes of all foreign nations [c].

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War between Charles and Francis.

The violent perſonal emulation and political jealouſy, which had taken place between the emperor and the French king, ſoon broke out in hoſtilities. But while

[c] Polydore Virgil. Hall.

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while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them.

Mediation of Henry.

The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negociate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprized of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: And he demanded to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

24th Nov.

The

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The people ſaw every day new inſtances of the uncontrouled authority of this miniſter. The duke of Buckingham, conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given diſguſt to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reaſon to repent of his indiſcretion. He ſeems to have been a man full of levity and raſh projects; and being infatuated with judicial aſtrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthuſian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was deſcended by a female from the duke of Glouceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been ſo unguarded as to let fall ſome expreſſions, as if he thought himſelf beſt entitled, in caſe the king ſhould die without iſſue, to poſſeſs the royal dignity. He had not even abſtained from threats againſt the king's life, and had provided himſelf with arms, which he intended to employ, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord ſteward, in order to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. The jury conſiſted of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict againſt Buckingham, which was ſoon after carried into execution. There is no reaſon to think the ſentence unjuſt[d]; but as Buckingham's crimes ſeemed to proceed more from indiſcretion than deliberate malice, the people who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their diſappointment to the animoſity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealouſy, however,

Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

[d] Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 513. Hollingſhed, p. 862.

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however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

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Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate——Origin of the reformation——Martin Luther——Henry receives the title of Defender of the Faith——Cauſes of the progreſs of the reformation——War with France——Invaſion of France——War with Scotland——A parliament——Invaſion of France——Italian wars——The king of France invades Italy——Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis——Francis recovers his liberty——Sack of Rome——League with France.

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DURING ſome years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with thoſe religious controverſies, which produced the reformation, one of the greateſt events in hiſtory: But as it was not till this time, that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occaſion to give any account of its riſe and progreſs. It will now be neceſſary to explain theſe theological diſputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin thoſe abuſes which ſo generally diffuſed the opinion, that a reformation of the church, or eccleſiaſtical order, was become highly expedient, if not abſolutely neceſſary. We ſhall be better enabled to comprehend the ſubject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reaſons, why there muſt be an eccleſiaſtical order, and a public eſtabliſhment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the preſent occaſion will, I hope, excuſe this ſhort digreſſion.

Moſt

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1521. Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Moſt of the arts and profeſſions in a ſtate are of ſuch a nature, that, while they promote the intereſts of the ſociety, they are alſo uſeful or agreeable to ſome individuals; and in that caſe, the conſtant rule of the magiſtrate, except, perhaps, on the firſt introduction of any art, is, to leave the profeſſion to itſelf, and truſt its encouragement to thoſe who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to riſe by the favour of their cuſtomers, encreaſe, as much as poſſible, their ſkill and induſtry; and as matters are not diſturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always ſure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are alſo ſome callings, which, though uſeful and even neceſſary in a ſtate, bring no particular advantage or pleaſure to any individual; and the ſupreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of thoſe profeſſions. It muſt give them public encouragement in order to their ſubſiſtence; and it muſt provide againſt that negligence, to which they will naturally be ſubject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profeſſion, by eſtabliſhing a long ſubordination of ranks and a ſtrict dependence, or by ſome other expedient. The perſons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magiſtracy, are inſtances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at firſt ſight, that the eccleſiaſtics belong to the firſt claſs, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and phyſicians, may ſafely be entruſted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or conſolation from their ſpiritual miniſtry and aſſiſtance. Their induſtry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by ſuch an additional motive; and their ſkill in the profeſſion, as well as their addreſs in governing the minds of the people, muſt receive daily increaſe, from their increaſing practice, ſtudy, and attention.

But

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1521.

But if we conſider the matter more cloſely, we ſhall find, that this intereſted diligence of the clergy is what every wiſe legiſlator will ſtudy to prevent; becauſe in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infuſing into it a ſtrong mixture of ſuperſtition, folly, and deluſion. Each ghoſtly practitioner, in order to render himſelf more precious and ſacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inſpire them with the moſt violent abhorrence of all other ſects, and continually endeavour, by ſome novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency, in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that beſt ſuits the diſorderly affections of the human frame. Cuſtomers will be drawn to each conventicle by new induſtry and addreſs, in practiſing on the paſſions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magiſtrate will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality, in ſaving a fixed eſtabliſhment for the prieſts; and that in reality the moſt decent and advantageous compoſition which he can make with the ſpiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by aſſigning ſtated ſalaries to their profeſſion, and rendering it ſuperfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to prevent their flock from ſtraying in queſt of new paſtures. And in this manner eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, though commonly they aroſe at firſt from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political intereſts of ſociety.

But we may obſerve, that few eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments have been fixed upon a worſe foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumſtances more hurtful to the peace and happineſs of mankind.

The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy, rendered them formidable to the civil

CHAP. XXIX. 1521.

civil magiſtrate, and armed with too extenſive authority an order of men, who always adhere cloſely together, and who never want a plauſible pretence for their encroachments and uſurpations. The higher dignities of the church ſerved, indeed, to the ſupport of gentry and nobility; but by the eſtabliſhment of monaſteries, many of the loweſt vulgar were taken from the uſeful arts, and maintained in thoſe receptacles of ſloth and ignorance. The ſupreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by intereſts always different from thoſe of the community, ſometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was neceſſarily ſolicitous to preſerve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifeſt riſque of being extinguiſhed; and violent perſecutions, or, what was worſe, a ſtupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To increaſe theſe evils, the church, though ſhe poſſeſſed large revenues, was not contented with her acquiſitions, but retained a power of practiſing farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even beſtowed on each individual prieſt a power of enriching himſelf by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him ſtill an urgent motive for diligence and induſtry in his calling. And thus that church, though an expenſive and burthenſome eſtabliſhment, was liable to many of the inconveniencies which belong to an order of prieſts, truſted entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a ſubſiſtence.

The advantages attending the Romiſh hierarchy were but a ſmall compenſation for its inconveniencies. The eccleſiaſtical privileges, during barbarous times, had ſerved as a cheque on the deſpotiſm of kings. The union of all the weſtern churches under the ſupreme pontiff facilitated the intercourſe of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a cloſe connection with each other. And the pomp and ſplendour of worſhip which belonged to ſo opulent an

eſtabliſhment, contributed, in ſome reſpect, to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuſe a general elegance of taſte, by uniting it with religion. 1520.

It will eaſily be conceived, that, though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romiſh church, this was not the chief reaſon which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents muſt have contributed to forward that great revolution.

Leo X. by his generous and enterpriſing temper, had much exhauſted his treaſury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to ſupport his projects, pleaſures, and liberalities. The ſcheme of ſelling indulgences was ſuggeſted to him, as an expedient which had often ſerved in former times, to draw money from the Chriſtian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was ſuppoſed, was poſſeſſed of a great ſtock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the ſaints, beyond what were employed in their own juſtification; and even to the merits of Chriſt himſelf, which were infinite and unbounded: And from this unexhauſted treaſury, the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purpoſes, in reſiſting the infidels, or ſubduing ſchiſmatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was uſually diverted to other purpoſes [e]. Origin of the reformation.

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falſity of the doctrines which, as ſupreme pontiff, he was obliged by his intereſt to promote: It is the leſs wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit

e Father Paul and Sleidan.

CHAP. XXIII. 1517.

those pious frauds which his predeceſſors, the moſt ignorant and credulous, had always, under plauſible pretences, made uſe of for their ſelfiſh purpoſes. He publiſhed the ſale of a general indulgence[f]; and as his expences had not only exhauſted his uſual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the ſeveral branches of it were openly given away to particular perſons, who were entitled to levy the impoſition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was aſſigned to his ſiſter Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent VIII.; and ſhe, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoeſe, once a merchant, now a biſhop, who ſtill retained all the lucrative arts of his former profeſſion[g]. The Auſtin friars had uſually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration: But Arcemboldi, fearing leſt practice might have taught them means to ſecrete the money[h], and expecting no extraordinary ſucceſs from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. Theſe monks, in order to prove themſelves worthy of the diſtinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the moſt unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head, which, though not more ridiculous than thoſe already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people[i]. To add to the ſcandal, the collectors of this revenue are ſaid to have lived very licentious lives, and to have ſpent in taverns, gaming-houſes, and places ſtill more infamous, the money which devout perſons had ſaved from their uſual expences, in order to purchaſe a remiſſion of their ſins[k].

All

f In 1517.
g Father Paul, Sleidan.
h Father Paul, lib. 1.
i See note [A] at the end of the volume.
k Father Paul, lib. 1.

All these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man, qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him[1]. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy, in which they had so long sleeped, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction: The republic of Zuric even reformed their church according to the new model: Many sovereigns of the empire, and the imperial diet itself, showed a favourable disposition towards it: And Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement, or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory, superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

CHAP. XXIII. 1521. Martin Luther.

[1] Father Paul, Sleidan.

CHAP. XXIII. 1518.

The rumour of these innovations soon reached England: and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partizans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who, in his writings, spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: He opposed himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: He even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age, and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance, which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*; an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of stile to which, in the course of his polemics, he had so long been accustomed. The king, by this ill usage, was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute. And as the controversy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

Henry receives the title of Defender of the Faith.

The

[a] Father Paul, lib. 1.

The quick and surprising progress of this bold sect, may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: Not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish Church: For of all branches of literature, philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress; neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity, with which superstition has every where overwhelmed them: Not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing, and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the Scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first centuries; and though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: But as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and

CHAP. they could, without much difficulty, perceive its de-
I. feet in truth and authenticity.
1517.

In order to beſtow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not ſatisfied with oppoſing the pretended divinity of the Romiſh church, and diſplaying the temporal inconveniencies of that eſtabliſhment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their anceſtors as abominable, deteſtable, damnable; foretold by ſacred writ itſelf as the ſource of all wickedneſs and pollution. They denominated the pope antichriſt, called his communion the ſcarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expreſſions which, however applied, were to be found in Scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the moſt ſolid arguments. Excited by conteſt and perſecution on the one hand, by ſucceſs and applauſe on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greateſt extremities their oppoſition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied ſuperſtitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion, which admitted of no obſervances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a myſterious ſpecies of faith, in inward viſion, rapture, and ecſtacy. The new ſectaries, ſeized with this ſpirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and ſet at defiance all the anathemas and puniſhments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection againſt the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable, in ſome reſpect, to the temporal authority of ſovereigns. They inveighed againſt the abuſes of the court of Rome, with which they were at that time generally diſcontented; and they exhorted princes to reinſtate themſelves

selves in those powers, of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with the license in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of true literature; they were unable to defend themselves against men, armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romish hierarchy; and such were the causes of their rapid and astonishing success. CHAP. XXIII. 1522.

Leo X. whose oversights, and too supine trust in the profound ignorance of the people, had given rise to this sect, but whose sound judgment, moderation, and temper, were well qualified to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal chair, by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the Emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and simplicity of manners which distinguished his character; but, so violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt his cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and, by this sincere avowal, he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was 1st Dec.

HENRY VIII. 1522. ſchoured to concur in that league, which Charles and Henry had formed againſt France [a]; and he thereby augmented the ſcandal, occaſioned by the practice of ſo many preceding popes, who ſtill made their ſpiritual arms ſubſervient to political purpoſes.

1522. The emperor, who knew that Wolſey had received a diſappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the reſentment of that haughty miniſter, was ſolicitous to repair the breach made in their friendſhip by this incident. He paid another viſit to England; and, beſides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolſey all the promiſes which he had made him, of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal throne. Wolſey, ſenſible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promiſed a ſpeedy vacancy, diſſembled his reſentment, and was willing to hope for a more proſperous iſſue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which ſome articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolſey for the revenue, which they ſhould loſe by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions; and he himſelf was inſtalled knight of the garter at London. After a ſtay of ſix weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he ſoon pacified the tumults which had ariſen in his abſence [b].

War with France. The king declared war againſt France; and this meaſure was founded on ſo little reaſon, that he could allegde nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refuſal to ſubmit to his arbitration, and his ſending Albany into Scotland. This laſt ſtep had not been taken

[a] Guicciardini, lib. 14. [b] Petrus de Angleria, Epiſt. 765.

taken by the French king, till he was assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to 18,000 men. 1513. June.

Invasion of France.

The French had made it a maxim in almost all their wars with the English, since the reign of Charles V. never, without great necessity, to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: He himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: The count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid siege to Hedin. But neither did he succeed in this enterprize. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army: The French forces assaulted him from without: Great rains fell: Fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers

soldiers into dysenteries: And Surrey was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear-guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money [p], was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

Europe was now in such a situation, and so connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itself throughout the whole: But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rosline [q]. He thence conducted the army southwards into Annandale; and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and observing that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in comparison of those which he maintained with France, they murmured, that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war, during their

War with Scotland.

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 14.
[q] Buchannan, lib. 14. Drummond, Pitscottie.

their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with Lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after, he departed for France; and, lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the Earl of Angus, husband to the queen dowager. 1523.

Next year, Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: The two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner banished: No nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to assume the government: And the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present weakness, to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England [r]. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the Lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms [s]: And the queen dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They said, that the interest of Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the assistance of their allies; but were

[r] Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert. [s] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

CHAP. XIII. 1513. were ready to abandon them, as soon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: That when a small state entered into so close a confederacy with a greater, it must always expect this treatment, as a consequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumstances in the situation of the kingdoms, which, in the present case, rendered it inviolable: That France was so distant and so divided from them by sea, that she scarcely could, by any means, and never could in time send succours to the Scots, sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: That nature had, in a manner, formed an alliance between the two British nations; having enclosed them in the same island; given them the same manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: And that, if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, secured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever safe and unmolested.

The partizans of the French alliance, on the other hand, said, that the very reasons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes, why a sincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation: That among neighbouring states occasions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be sure to seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection: That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: That if they

they deserted that old and salutary alliance on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: Or if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irretrievable [s].

The arguments employed by the French party, being seconded by the natural prejudices of the people, seemed most prevalent: And when the regent himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By authority of the convention of states, he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the begining of the campaign; and he led them southwards towards the borders. But when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melrose, the English party raised again such opposition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk-Castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed some of the outworks: But the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced season, thought proper to disband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after, he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not, during several years, in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

The

[s] Buchanan, lib. 14.

The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII. were long ago dispersed; the king's habits of expence still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprizes. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue[t]; and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums: This act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry, this year, carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, two shillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of parliament.

Henry soon after summoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a disposition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolsey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with opposition, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms,

[t] Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

ns, that his request was at last complied with. C. 1. A. D.
e cardinal afterwards, attended by several of the 1523.
ility and prelates, came to the house of commons;
, in a long and elaborate speech, laid before them
public necessities, the danger of an invasion from
otland, the affronts received from France, the league
which the king was engaged with the pope and the
peror; and he demanded a grant of 800,000
nds, divided into four yearly payments; a sum
puted, from the late survey or valuation, to be e-
l to four shillings in the pound of one year's re-
ue, or one shilling in the pound yearly, according
he division proposed[t]. So large a grant was unu-
l from the commons; and though the cardinal's de-
nd was seconded by Sir Thomas More, the speak-
and several other members attached to the court,
house could not be prevailed with to comply[u].
ey only voted two shillings in the pound on all who
oyed twenty pounds a-year and upwards; one shil-
on all who possessed between twenty pounds and
y shillings a-year; and on the other subjects above
teen years of age, a groat a-head. This last sum
s divided into two yearly payments; the former in-
four; and was not, therefore, at the utmost, a-
ve sixpence in the pound. The grant of the com-
ns was but the moiety of the sum demanded; and
cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the dis-
pointment, came again to the house, and desired to
son with such as refused to comply with the king's
quest. He was told, that it was a rule of the house
ver to reason but among themselves; and his desire
s rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a
le their former grant, and voted an imposition of
three

[t] This survey or valuation is liable
uch suspicion, as fixing the rents
eat deal too high; unless the sum
prehend the revenues of all kinds,
industry as well as land and money.
w Herbert. Stowe, 518. Parlia-
mentary History. Strype, vol. i. p. 49.

CHAP. XXIII. 1523. three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a-year and upwards[z]. The proceedings of this house of commons evidently discover the humour of the times: They were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand of the crown which was far from being unreasonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was to subvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons, that, as he had not called a parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another: And, on pretence of necessity, he levied, in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years[y]; a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

That ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope, Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile, he concealed his disgust; and, after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legantine powers which the two former popes had conferred

[z] See note [B] at the end of the volume. [y] Speed. Hall. Herbert.

ved upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendſhip, granted him a commiſſion for life; and, by this unuſual conceſſion, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In ſome particulars Wolſey made a good uſe of this extenſive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipſwich, the place of his nativity: He ſought, all over Europe, for learned men to ſupply the chairs of theſe colleges: And, in order to beſtow endowments on them, he ſuppreſſed ſome ſmaller monaſteries, and diſtributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the leſs difficult for him, becauſe the Romiſh church began to perceive that ſhe overabounded in monks, and that ſhe wanted ſome ſupply of learning, in order to oppoſe the inquiſitive, or rather diſputative, humour of the reformers.

CHAP. XXIII. 1513

The confederacy againſt France ſeemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign[2]. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to deſert the French alliance, and to form engagements for ſecuring Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy combined in the ſame meaſure. The emperor, in perſon, menaced France with a powerful invaſion on the ſide of Guienne: The forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy: A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: But all theſe perils from foreign enemies were leſs threatening than a domeſtic conſpiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, againſt the French monarch.

Charles, duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, was a prince of the moſt ſhining merit; and, beſides

2 Guicciardini, lib. 14.

CHAP. XXIX.

1523. distinguishing himself in many military enterprizes, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendant over her son. By her instigation Francis put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and at last, he permitted Louise to prosecute a lawsuit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England[a]. Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned sickness, in order to have a pretence for staying behind, purposed, as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his design; but, as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape[b]; and, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprizing spirit,

[a] Mémoires du Bellay, liv. 2. [b] Belcarius, lib. 17.

spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country. CHAP. XXIII. 1523.

The king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the Lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen [c]. The English army, reinforced by some troops, drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and, having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprize appearing difficult, it was thought more adviseable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; and the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreüil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river

24th Aug. Invasion of France.

c Herbert.

CHAP. XXIX. 1523.

Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation; till the duke of Vendosme hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned: And the English and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their respective countries.

France defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison-towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

The emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger from the powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he, of a sudden, raised the siege, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a sudden march, and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this side, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sitten down, in the winter season, before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the gover-

nor

nor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprize, put his troops into winter-quarters. MARK. 1525.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead, in person, a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and, fearing some insurrection in the kingdom, from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to send forward his army under the command of Admiral Bonnivet. The duchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprizes of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnivet passed the Tesin, than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole duchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance: But as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprizes, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not unactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it seemed more likely the latter should themselves perish by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickness and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their only Italian war. 1524.

CHAP. XXIX. 1524.

hopes conſiſted in a great body of Swiſs, which was levied for the ſervice of the French king, and whoſe arrival was every day expected. But theſe mountaineers no ſooner came within ſight of the French camp, than they ſtopped from a ſudden caprice and reſentment; and, inſtead of joining Bonnivet, they ſent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then ſerved under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company [e]. After this deſertion of the Swiſs, Bonnivet had no other choice but that of making his retreat, as faſt as poſſible, into France.

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were ſatisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were reſolved to proſecute their victory no farther. All theſe powers, eſpecially Clement, had entertained a violent jealouſy of the emperor's ambition; and their ſuſpicions were extremely augmented, when they ſaw him refuſe the inveſtiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whoſe title he had acknowledged, and whoſe defence he had embraced [f]. They all concluded that he intended to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that important duchy, and reduce Italy to ſubjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealouſy, proceeded ſo far in oppoſition to the emperor, that he ſent orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolſey, diſguſted with the emperor, but ſtill more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himſelf ſhould have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invaſion of France. Charles ſtipulated to

[e] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellai, liv. 2.

[f] Guicciardini, lib. 15.

to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which, he might either chuse to continue the same monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: the rest of the kingdom to Henry. CHAP. XXIX. 1524.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed: Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprize, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: But the citizens defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom: But as he received intelligence that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprizes, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour seized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy.

He passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the whole Milanese into The king of France invades Italy.

CHAP. XXIII. into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dispersed[1]: But his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place, proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new retrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the course of the Tesin, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the soldiers, during a long time, and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad season (for it 1525. was the depth of winter), had wasted the French army. The imperial generals, meanwhile, were not unactive. Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets, with which he joined the imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the small armies, which they kept on foot, could not be regularly paid by them. The imperial forces, commanded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty

[1] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, lib. 2.

twenty thousand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France, either on the side of Spain or Flanders). Yet, so poor was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp, which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory, without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once said, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution. CHAP. XXIII. 1525.

The imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the entrenchments. Leyva sallied from the town, and encreased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was, at last, obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives, fell into the hands of the enemy. 24th Feb. Battle of Pavia, and captivity of Francis.

The emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France by means of a safe-conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which

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which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed [h]. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph; and said that he reserved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, *Madam, all is lost, except our honour.* The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded on every side by implacable and victorious enemies: And her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes which she entertained of peace, and even of assistance, from the king of England.

Had the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis, were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual,

h Vera. Hist. de Carl. V.

effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession, without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But, as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and, as the glory of generosity, in raising a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interests, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

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Henry embraces the alliance of France.

Some disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself *your affectionate son and cousin*; he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself *Charles*[i]. Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions with which

[i] Guicciardini, lib. 16.

CHAP. XXIII. 1525. which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this laſt imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of ſucceſs, was probably more dangerous to Charles's intereſts than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new meaſures, was careful to ſave appearances in the change; and he cauſed rejoicings to be every where made, on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis. He publicly diſmiſſed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London*: But, upon the regent of France's ſubmiſſive applications to him, he again opened a correſpondence with her; and, beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe that ſhe never would conſent to the diſmembering of any province from the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprize; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he diſpatched Tonſtal, biſhop of London, to Madrid, with propoſals for a powerful invaſion of France. He required that Charles ſhould immediately enter Guienne, at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poſſeſſion of that province; and he demanded the payment of large ſums of money, which that prince had borrowed from him in his laſt viſit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of theſe demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him maſter of ſuch conſiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonſtal, likewiſe, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his maſter that Charles, on his part, urged ſeveral complaints againſt England; and, in particular, was diſpleaſed with Henry, becauſe laſt year he had neither

* Du Bellay, liv. iii. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his ſtipulations. Tonſtal added, that, inſtead of expreſſing an intention to eſpouſe Mary when ſhe ſhould be of age, the emperor had hearkened to propoſals for marrying his niece Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal; and that he had entered into a ſeparate treaty with Francis, and ſeemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the ſucceſs with which fortune had crowned his arms. CHAP. XXIII. 1525.

The king, influenced by all theſe motives, concluded, at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her ſon his liberty on reaſonable conditions[1]: The regent alſo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſcharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thouſand crowns: After which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand. A large preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns was alſo made to Wolſey, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of Tournay. 30th Aug.

Meanwhile, Henry, foreſeeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was alſo determined to fill his treaſury by impoſitions upon his own ſubjects; and, as the parliament had diſcovered ſome reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counſel of Wolſey, and reſolved to make uſe of his prerogative alone for that purpoſe. He iſſued commiſſions to all the counties of England for levying four ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, three ſhillings and four pence upon the laity; and ſo uncontroulable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the ſlender Diſcontents of the Engliſh.

1 Du Tillet, Recueil des Traites de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

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ſlender pretence of a loan. But he ſoon found that he had preſumed too far on the paſſive ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects. The people, diſpleaſed with an exaction beyond what was uſually levied in thoſe days, and farther diſguſted with the illegal method of impoſing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, oppoſition to the commiſſioners; and their refractory diſpoſition threatened a general inſurrection. Henry had the prudence to ſtop ſhort in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He ſent letters to all the counties; declaring that he meant no force by this laſt impoſition, and that he would take nothing from his ſubjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himſelf that his condeſcenſion, in employing that diſguiſe, would ſatisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himſelf obnoxious to royal authority, by refuſing any payment required of him in this manner. But the ſpirit of oppoſition, once rouſed, could not ſo eaſily be quieted at pleaſure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the ſtatute of Richard III. by which benevolences were for ever aboliſhed, it was replied by the court, that Richard, being an uſurper, and his parliament a factious aſſembly, his ſtatutes could not bind a lawful and *abſolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace[m]. The judges even went ſo far as to affirm poſitively, that the king might exact, by commiſſion, any ſum he pleaſed; and the privy council gave a ready aſſent to this decree, which annihilated the moſt valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with ſuch formidable authority, of royal prerogative, and a pretence of law, Wolſey ſent for the mayor of London, and deſired to know what he was willing to give for the ſupply of his majeſty's neceſſities. The mayor ſeemed deſirous, before

[m] Herbert. Hall.

before he ſhould declare himſelf, to conſult the common council: but the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen ſhould ſeparately confer with himſelf about the benevolence; and he eluded, by that means, the danger of a formed oppoſition. Matters, however, went not ſo ſmoothly in the country. An inſurrection was begun in ſome places; but, as the people were not headed by any conſiderable perſon, it was eaſy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing perſuaſion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The king, finding it dangerous to puniſh criminals engaged in ſo popular a cauſe, was determined, notwithſtanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the ſtar-chamber; where, after a ſevere charge brought againſt them by the king's council, the cardinal ſaid, "That notwithſtanding their grievous offence, the king, in conſideration of their neceſſities, had granted them his gracious pardon, upon condition that they would find ſureties for their future good behaviour." But they replying, that they had no ſureties, the cardinal firſt, and after him the duke of Norfolk, ſaid that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were diſmiſſed[n].

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Theſe arbitrary impoſitions being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counſels of the cardinal, encreaſed the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon, being aſcribed to the king, was conſidered as an atonement, on his part, for the illegality of the meaſure. But Wolſey, ſupported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without ſcruple, to violate all eccleſiaſtical

n Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingſhed, p. 891.

CHAP. XXIII. 1525.

siastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was impowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was carried so far that it reached, at last, the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster, for his own residence; but, fearing the encrease of envy on account of this magnificence, and, desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

The absolute authority possessed by the king, rendered his domestic government, both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: The conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to such a situation, that it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was soon obvious to all the world that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and, as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's

generosity, the disappointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said, that he would rather live and die a prisoner, than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that, even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution. CHAP. XXIX. 1545.

Francis was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm which had seized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflexions on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, Sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my brother, and my friend, "who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily recovered[o]; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty. Francis removed to Madrid.

[o] Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

CHAP. XXIX.

1526. 14th Jan.

At last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by which, it was hoped, an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy: If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that, in six weeks time, he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependence.

Many of Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: By sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalship which had so long subsisted between

between these two monarchs, would make him feel the strongest reluctance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had shewn himself so little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be sure, with one voice, to inculcate on him, that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which, with a private man, ought to be absolutely supreme, and superior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of ensuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be so romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry which was so plausible in itself, and which so much flattered all the passions by which, either as a prince or a man, he was strongly actuated. CHAP. XXIII. 1526.

Francis, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, *I am yet a king*. He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry; acknowledging, that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counsels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the proposal, under colour that it was previously necessary to assemble the states both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their reso- 18th Mar. Francis recovers his liberty.

CHAP. XXIX.

lution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The Imperial miniſter then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould now return to his priſon; but the French monarch, inſtead of complying, made public the treaty which, a little before, he had ſecretly concluded at Cognac, againſt the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor [p].

1526.

22d May.

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted in theſe events, had been held in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to the reſolutions which Francis ſhould take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who ſuſpected that this prince would never execute a treaty ſo hurtful to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in ſuſpence, but entered immediately into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money; and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, ſo it was called: And if Naples ſhould be conquered from the emperor, in proſecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry ſhould enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolſey, in conſideration of the ſervices which he had rendered to Chriſtendom, ſhould alſo, in ſuch an event, be put in poſſeſſion of a revenue of 10,000 ducats.

Francis

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 17.

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Francis was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so, because Charles, destitute, as usual, of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and, in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed, by her renown alone, to so many calamities, never endured, in any age, even from the barbarians, by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed [q]. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon those

1526.

1527.

6th May.

Sack of Rome.

q Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

CHAP. XIII. 1527.

those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms: He put himself and all his court in mourning: He stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip: And knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers, during several months, to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty; which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more sincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty [r] at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended

[r] 30th April.

tended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war a- CHAP. XXIX.
gainſt him. This war, it was agreed to proſecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two-thirds to be ſupplied by Francis, the reſt by Henry. And, in order to ſtrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was ſtipulated that either Francis, or his ſon the duke of Orleans, as ſhould afterwards be agreed on, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter. No ſooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and, hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther ſtimulated to undertake the war with vigour for reſtoring him to liberty. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert meaſures for that purpoſe; and he diſplayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was ſo much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thouſand horſe. The cardinal of Lorraine, and the chancellor Alençon, met him at Boulogne: Francis himſelf, beſides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all priſoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced ſome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary; and as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions, by their own authority. Wolſey made ſome attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitleſs, he was

1527.

29th May.

11th July.

CHAP. XXIX.

obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprizes [t].

1527. 5th Sept.

The more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was, some time after, concluded at London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now, indeed, be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

League with France.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: And he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the duchy

[t] Burnet, book 3. coll. 12, 13.

duchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and ſet him at defiance. Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his maſter with breach of faith, reminded him of the private converſation which had paſſed between them at Madrid before their ſeparation, and offered to prove, by ſingle combat, that he had acted diſhonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding ſecurity of the field, he offered to maintain his cauſe by ſingle combat. Many meſſages paſſed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards, during that age, zealouſly diſputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince the more candid, generous, and ſincere, ſhould, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to ſo cruel a ſituation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preſerve his people, and that he muſt ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promiſe by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and virtue.

CHAP. XXIII. 1525.

But, though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate conſequence with regard to theſe monarchs themſelves, it produced a conſiderable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous juriſprudence which was ſtill preſerved on very ſolemn occaſions, and which was ſometimes countenanced by the civil magiſtrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the moſt trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themſelves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right

CHAP. XXIX. 1327.

right in single combat. These absurd, though generous maxims, shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law, and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Scruples concerning the king's marriage——The king enters into these scruples——Anne Boleyn——Henry applies to the pope for a divorce——The pope favourable——The emperor threatens him——The pope's ambiguous conduct——The cause evoked to Rome——Wolsey's fall——Commencement of the reformation in England——Foreign affairs——Wolsey's death——A parliament——Progress of the reformation——A parliament——King's final breach with Rome——A parliament.

CHAP. XXX.

1527. Scruples concerning the king's marriage.

NOTWITHSTANDING the submissive deference paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catharine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his son, when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract [t]. He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage [u]; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance, so unusual, and exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's

t Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13. u Morison, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 2.

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king's acceſſion, ſome members of the privy council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared againſt the reſolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and diſſipation kept him, during ſome time, from entertaining any ſcruples with regard to the meaſure which he had embraced, there happened incidents ſufficient to rouſe his attention, and to inform him of the ſentiments generally entertained on that ſubject. The ſtates of Caſtile had oppoſed the Emperor Charles's eſpouſals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had inſiſted on the illegitimate birth of the young princeſs [w]. And when the negociations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the biſhop of Tarbe, the French ambaſſador, revived the ſame objection [x]. But though theſe events naturally raiſed ſome doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other cauſes which tended much to encreaſe his remorſe, and render his conſcience more ſcrupulous.

The king enters into theſe ſcruples.

The queen was older than the king by no leſs than ſix years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diſeaſes, had contributed, notwithſtanding her blameleſs character and deportment, to render her perſon unacceptable to him. Though ſhe had born him ſeveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more ſtruck with this misfortune, becauſe the curſe of being childleſs is the very threatening contained in the Moſaical law, againſt thoſe who eſpouſe their brother's widow. The ſucceſſion, too, of the crown was a conſideration that occurred to every one,

w Lord Herbert, Fiddes's life of Wolſey.

x Rymer, vol. xiv. 192. 203. Heylin, p. 3.

CHAP. XXX.

1527.

dle, whenever the lawfulneſs of Henry's marriage was called in queſtion; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakneſs of her ſex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretenſions, and might throw the kingdom into confuſion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulſions, ariſing from a diſputed title, made great impreſſion on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerſally deſirous of any event which might obviate ſo irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private paſſions, and by motives of public intereſt, to ſeek the diſſolution of his inauſpicious, and, as it was eſteemed, unlawful marriage with Catharine.

Henry afterwards affirmed, that his ſcruples aroſe entirely from private reflection; and that, on conſulting his confeſſor, the biſhop of Lincoln, he found the prelate poſſeſſed with the ſame doubts and difficulties. The king himſelf, being ſo great a caſuiſt and divine, next proceeded to examine the queſtion more carefully by his own learning and ſtudy; and having had recourſe to Thomas of Acquine, he obſerved that this celebrated doctor, whoſe authority was great in the church, and abſolute with him, had treated of that very caſe, and had expreſsly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages[y]. The prohibitions, ſaid Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the reſt, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and though the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was then applied to; and he was required to conſult his brethren: All the prelates of England, except

[y] Burnet, Fiddes.

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except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful [z]. Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples [a]; partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catharine's nephew; partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the duchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps, too, somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms, unbefitting his character and station [b]. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and coheirs of Lord Hastings [c]. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments, even in her tender years, were always much admired, was retained in the

z Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548.

a Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46. 166. 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.

b Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.

c Camden's preface to the life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44.

the ſervice of Claude, queen of France, ſpouſe to Francis; and, after the death of that princeſs, ſhe paſſed into the family of the ducheſs of Alençon, a woman of ſingular merit. The exact time when ſhe returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage with Catharine; if the account is to be credited, which he himſelf afterwards gave of that tranſaction. Henry's ſcruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he ſtill ſupported an intercourſe of civility and friendſhip with her, he had occaſion, in the frequent viſits which he paid her, to obſerve the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accompliſhments of her mind nowiſe inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the deſign of raiſing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this reſolution, when he found that her virtue and modeſty prevented all hopes of gratifying his paſſion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy, ſeemed thus to concur in making the king deſirous of a divorce from Catharine, and as his proſpect of ſucceſs was inviting, he reſolved to make application to Clement, and he ſent Knight, his ſecretary, to Rome for that purpoſe. CHAP. XXX. 1527.

That he might not ſhock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he reſolved not to found the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of conſanguinity; but only to inſiſt on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that, if the pope be ſurpriſed into any conceſſion, or grant any indulgence upon falſe ſuggeſtions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had uſually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.

CHAP. XXIX. 1527.

his predeceſſors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal, favourable to Henry, needed not want a ſpecious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was ſaid in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his ſolicitation; though it was known, that, at that time, he was under twelve years of age: It was alſo affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requiſite, in order to preſerve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain, that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. Theſe falſe premiſes in Julius's bull ſeemed to afford Clement a ſufficient reaſon or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage[d].

The pope favourable.

But though the pretext for this indulgence had been leſs plauſible, the pope was in ſuch a ſituation, that he had the ſtrongeſt motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the Engliſh monarch. He was then a priſoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reaſonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppoſe the ambition of Charles. When the Engliſh ſecretary, therefore, ſolicited him in private, he received a very favourable anſwer; and a diſpenſation was forthwith promiſed to be granted to his maſter[e]. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialiſts to reſtore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the ſecretary, with Sir Gregory Caſſali, the king's reſident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They ſtill found him

I full

d Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitel. p. 9.
e Burnet, vol. i. p. 47.

full of high profeſſions of friendſhip, gratitude, and confidence to the king; but not ſo prompt in granting his requeſt as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promiſe from the pope, to take no ſteps in the affair before he communicated them to the imperial miniſters; and Clement, embarraſſed by this promiſe, and ſtill more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, ſeemed willing to poſtpone theſe conceſſions deſired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the Engliſh miniſters, he at laſt put into their hands a *commiſſion* to Wolſey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's diſpenſation[f]: He alſo granted them a provifional *diſpenſation* for the king's marriage with any other perſon; and promiſed to iſſue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he repreſented to them the dangerous conſequences which muſt enſue to him, if theſe conceſſions ſhould come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publiſh thoſe papers, or make any further uſe of them, till his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation as to ſecure his liberty and independence. And his ſecret advice was, whenever they ſhould find the proper time for opening the ſcene, that they ſhould prevent all oppoſition, by proceeding immediately to a concluſion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's inſtantly eſpouſing ſome other perſon. Nor would it be ſo difficult, he ſaid, for himſelf to confirm theſe proceedings, after they were paſſed, as previouſly to render them valid, by his conſent and authority[g].

1527.

When Henry received the commiſſion and diſpenſation from his ambaſſadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his miniſters, and

1528.

f Rymer, vol. xiv. 237. g Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitel. B. 10.

CHAP. XIII. 1528.

and asked their opinion in so delicate a question. The English confessor considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he discover the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children which it might bring him declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever[h]. And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability of such an event, were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed[i]. The captivity, and other misfortunes, which he had undergone by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure: especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The imperial forces were, at that time, powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless, and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened, still more immediately, his person and his dignity.

The emperor threatens him.

Charles, apprised of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses, which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome

h Burnet, vol. i. p. 52. i Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini.

Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne, which he filled, might justly be called in question. That pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinsman, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority [k]. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but, what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepossession that this stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and positive, that no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law, by declaring, that a simoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to Cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: And this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view [l].

CHAP. XXIX. 1528.

While Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes, which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely

k Father Paul, lib. 1. l Ibid.

CHAP. XXX. 1528.

tirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch [m].

These views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour always contained so much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him, on any account, to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome [n].

Feb. 10.

But

m Father Paul.

n Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. No. 23, 24, &c.]

But the ſame reaſons, which made the king ſo deſirous of obtaining this conceſſion, confirmed the pope in the reſolution of refuſing it: He was ſtill determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor, and he made no ſcruple of ſacrificing all other conſiderations to a point, which he deemed the moſt eſſential and important to his own ſecurity, and to the greatneſs of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commiſſion, in which Cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolſey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to inſert the clauſe deſired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter, promiſing not to recal the preſent commiſſion; this promiſe was found, on examination, to be couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, as left him ſtill the power, whenever he pleaſed, of departing from it[o]. CHAP. XIII. 1528. The pope's ambiguous conduct.

Campeggio lay under ſome obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was ſo much greater, that he conformed himſelf entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commiſſion in April, he delayed his departure under ſo many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The firſt ſtep which he took was to exhort the king to deſiſt from the proſecution of his divorce; and finding that this counſel gave offence, he ſaid, that his intention was alſo to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previouſly to attempt an amicable compoſure of all differences[p]. The more to pacify the king, he ſhewed to him, as alſo to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no intreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the ſecret[q]. In order to atone, in ſome degree, for this

o Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59.

p Herbert, p. 225.

q Burnet, p. 58.

CHAP. XXI. 1528. obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness [r].

These ambiguous circumstances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with pa-
1529. tience the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St Peter [s]; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favourable issue to his process: He still continued his secret negociations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

The

r Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270, Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111. Append. No. 28.

s Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

The emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earneſtneſs in this affair, was determined, that he ſhould obtain ſucceſs by no other means than by an application to him, and by deſerting his alliance with Francis, which he had hitherto ſupported, againſt the ſuperior force of Spain, the tottering ſtate of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promiſing her his utmoſt protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and perſecutions of her enemies. The queen herſelf was naturally of a firm and reſolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to perſevere in proteſting againſt the injuſtice to which ſhe thought herſelf expoſed. The imputation of inceſt, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, ſtruck her with the higheſt indignation: The illegitimacy of her daughter, which ſeemed a neceſſary conſequence, gave her the moſt juſt concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, which, ſhe believed, had ſupplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all theſe conſiderations, ſhe never ceaſed ſoliciting her nephew's aſſiſtance, and earneſtly entreating an evocation of the cauſe to Rome, where alone, ſhe thought, ſhe could expect juſtice. And the emperor, in all his negociations with the pope, made the recal of the commiſſion, which Campeggio and Wolſey exerciſed in England, a fundamental article [t].

CHAP. XXIII. 1529.

The two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both preſented themſelves; and the king anſwered to his name, when called: But the queen, inſtead of anſwering to hers, roſe from her ſeat, and throwing herſelf at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him, that ſhe was a ſtranger in his domini-

31ſt May. Trial of the king's marriage.

[t] Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

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one without protection, without council, without assistance; exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: That she had quitted her native country, without other reference than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected that, instead of suffering thence any violence or iniquity, she was assured in them of a safe-guard against every misfortune: That she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after so long a time, thrown from him with so much indignity: That she was conscious—he himself was assured—that her virgin honour was yet unstained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no further than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural: And that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose dependence on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision[p]. Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

After her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge, that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honour. He only insisted on his own scruples with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the

[p] Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543.

the foundation of theſe doubts, by which he had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated. He acquitted Cardinal Wolſey from having any hand in encouraging his ſcruples; and he craved a ſentence of the court agreeable to the juſtice of his cauſe. 1527.

The legates, after citing the queen a-new, declared her *contumacious*, notwithſtanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The firſt point which came before them was the proof of Prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it muſt be confeſſed, that no ſtronger arguments could reaſonably be expected of ſuch a fact after ſo long an interval. The age of the prince, who had paſſed his fifteenth year, the good ſtate of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his conſort, many of his expreſſions to that very purpoſe; all theſe circumſtances form a violent preſumption in favour of the king's aſſertion [w]. Henry himſelf, after his brother's death, was not allowed, for ſome time, to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: The Spaniſh ambaſſador, in order the better to enſure poſſeſſion of her jointure, had ſent over to Spain proofs of the conſummation of her marriage [x]: Julius's bull itſelf was founded on the ſuppoſition that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princeſs: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the conſummation of the former marriage with Prince Arthur, is acknowledged on both ſides [y]. Theſe particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reaſonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and againſt his power of granting a diſpenſation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard theſe doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithſtanding his reſolution to protract the cauſe, he was often

w Herbert.
x Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.
y Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

CHAP. XIII. 1529

often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel, when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial, managed by an Italian cardinal, would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprize, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences [a], prorogued the court till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished [a].

The cause evoked to Rome.

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but, though they employed the same engines of promises and menaces, the motives which they could set before the pope, were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor [b]. The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety

a Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77.
a Herbert, p. 254.
b Burnet, vol. i. p. 75.

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xiety for his perſonal ſafety, and the fond deſire of reſtoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As ſoon, therefore, as he had adjuſted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of juſtice, which required him, as he aſſerted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and, ſuſpending the commiſſion of the legates, he adjourned the cauſe to his own perſonal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, beforehand, received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull with which he was entruſted.

Wolſey had long foreſeen this meaſure as the ſure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at firſt deſired that the king ſhould rather marry a French princeſs than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity and earneſtneſs to bring the affair to a happy iſſue[c]: He was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unproſperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had ſufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and was wont, without examination or diſtinction, to make his miniſters anſwerable for the ſucceſs of thoſe tranſactions with which they were entruſted. Anne Boleyn alſo, who was prepoſſeſſed againſt him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and, as ſhe was newly returned to court, whence ſhe had been removed, from a regard to decency, during the trial before the legates, ſhe had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and ſhe ſerved much to fortify his prejudices againſt the cardinal[d]. Even the queen and her partizans, judging of Wolſey by the part which he had openly acted, had expreſſed great animoſity againſt him; and the moſt oppoſite factions ſeemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty miniſter. The high opinion itſelf, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to haſten

c Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53.
d Cavendiſh, p. 40.

CHAP. XXX. 1529. seen his downfal; while he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not instantly on his head. The king, who probably could not justify, by any good reason, his alienation from his ancient favourite, seems to have remained some time in suspence; and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and regard.

Wolsey's fall.

But constant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the least diminution, without sinking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require the great seal from him; and, on his scrupling to deliver it*, without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was surrendered, and it was delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity.

28th Oct.

Wolsey was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became, afterwards, the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized: Their riches and splendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of silver: He had a cupboard of plate of massy gold: There were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion;

* Cavendish, p. 41.

tion; and his opulence was probably no ſmall in- CHAP. XXII.
ducement to this violent perſecution againſt him.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Aſher, a 1529.
country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton-Court. The world, that had paid him ſuch abject court during his proſperity, now entirely deſerted him on this fatal reverſe of all his fortunes. He himſelf was much dejected with the change; and, from the ſame turn of mind which had made him be ſo vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the ſtroke of adverſity with double rigour[f]. The ſmalleſt appearance of his return to favour threw him into tranſports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had ſeemed willing, during ſome time, to intermit the blows which overwelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in poſſeſſion of the ſees of York and Wincheſter. He even ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey, who was on horſeback when the meſſenger met him, immediately alighted; and, throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, theſe marks of his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him[g].

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceaſed plying the king with accounts of his ſeveral offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinſtated in his former authority. He diſmiſſed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and, as he was a kind and beneficent maſter, the ſeparation paſſed not without a plentiful effuſion of tears on both ſides[h]. The king's heart, notwithſtanding ſome gleams of kindneſs, ſeemed now totally hardened againſt his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a ſentence was paſſed

f Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. No 31, &c.

g Stowe, p. 547.

h Cavendiſh. Stowe, p. 549.

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passed against him. And, not content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: No evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and, as it chiefly consists of general accusations, it was scarcely susceptible of any[i]. The articles were sent down to the house of commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

Wolsey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard II. commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but, besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe, than to impute to him, as a crime, what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament and kingdom.

i See note [C] at the end of the volume.

dain. Not to mention what he always asserted[k], and what we can scarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal license in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his lands "and goods forfeited; and that his person might be "committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued, from time to time, to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

The complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and, as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people, in some measure, to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills, restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills[l]; a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe invectives thrown out, almost without opposition, in the house, against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert[m] has even preserved Commencement of the reformation in England.

k Cavendish, p. 72.

l These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great height. A member said in the house, that a thousand merks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188. Strype, vol. I. p. 73.

m P. 293.

A. D. 1529. preſerved the ſpeech of a gentleman of Gray's-Inn, which is of a ſingular nature, and contains ſuch topics as we ſhould little expect to meet with during that period. The member inſiſts upon the vaſt variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endleſs inextricable controverſies maintained by the ſeveral ſects; the impoſſibility that any man, much leſs the people, could ever know, much leſs examine, the tenets and principles of every ſect; the neceſſity of ignorance, and a ſuſpence of judgment with regard to all thoſe objects of diſpute! And, upon the whole, he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one ſupreme Being, the author of nature; and the neceſſity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such ſentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced, without ſome precaution, in a public aſſembly. But, though the firſt broaching of religious controverſy might encourage the ſceptical turn in a few perſons of a ſtudious diſpoſition; the zeal with which men ſoon after attached themſelves to their ſeveral parties, ſerved effectually to baniſh, for a long time, all ſuch obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of lords. Biſhop Fiſher, in particular, imputed theſe meaſures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed deſign, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in ſevere, and even ſomewhat indecent terms. He told him that the greateſt clerks were not always the wiſeſt men. But Fiſher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the biſhop of Rocheſter's ſpeech ſtopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their ſpeaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections

thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favourable construction on his words[n]. 21 H. VIII. 1529.

Henry was not displeased that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible, that they were entirely dependent on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, was sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: They granted him a discharge of all those debts which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money, which he had borrowed, in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting them[o]. Several also approved of an expedient which, they hoped, would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unparliamentary.

The domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostility against any of the imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer established in Europe. Mar- Foreign affairs.

n Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82.

o Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

CHAP. XIII. 1529.

garet of Auſtria and Louiſa of Savoy met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hoſtages. Henry was, on this occaſion, ſo generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he ſent him an acquittal of near 600,000 crowns, which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not ſo well ſatisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray: They were almoſt wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and ſeemed to have no means of ſecurity left, but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave reſiſtance, was ſubdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated: they were only obliged to relinquiſh ſome acquiſitions which they had made on the coaſt of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the inveſtiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all paſt offences. The emperor in perſon paſſed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already, by his vigour and capacity ſucceeded in every enterprize, and reduced to captivity the two greateſt potentates in Europe, the one ſpiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognoſtications were formed of his growing empire.

But though Charles ſeemed to be proſperous on every ſide, and though the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that ſcarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himſelf threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his deſire of ſurmounting them was the chief cauſe of his granting ſuch moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed

warlike prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, and, though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed in the imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *Protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and, on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

CHAP. XXX. 1539.

The friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles, in order to ensure success in his ambitious enterprizes; and the king was sufficiently apprized, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; that point which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his kingdom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and solicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependence to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely, that his personal experience of the duplicity and selfish politics of Clement, had served much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly established at home: He observed, that his people were in general much dis-

CHAP. XXI. 1529.

gusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order: He knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the unworthy treatment which, after so many services, and such devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts, and employ every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the duchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But, notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: He dreaded the reproach of heresy: He abhorred all connections with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: And having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray, from passion, such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

The universities consulted about the king's marriage.

Dr Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus-College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening, by accident, into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed, that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe

Europe with regard to this controverted point: If they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorses would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom [p]. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear. He sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

CHAP. XIII. 1529.

Had the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriages in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations, is derived from mens care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect that, if a commerce of love were authorised between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse, more or less restrained, between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find, that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same

[p] Fox, p. 1860, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

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roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother, and her daughters, were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more distant relation: Hence, in that nation, it was lawful for a man to marry, not only his niece, but his half-sister by the father: A liberty unknown to the Romans, and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorised between the sexes. Reasoning from this principle, it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life, among great princes, is so obstructed by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill consequence would result among them from marrying a brother's widow, especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required, in order to justify what may in common cases be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as strong motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require such alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals [q].

But, in opposition to these reasons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had custom and precedent on his side, the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was so unusual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and though the popes were accustomed to dispense with more essential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, such as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward,

q See note [D] at the end of the volume.

ward [r], gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toloufe, Angiers, which might be fuppofed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but alfo thofe of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itfelf, though under the immediate jurifdiction of Clement. Oxford alone [s] and Cambridge [t] made fome difficulty; becaufe thefe univerfities, alarmed at the progrefs of Lutheranifm, and dreading a defection from the holy fee, fcrupled to give their fanction to meafures, whofe confequences, they feared, would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other univerfities of Europe, was at laft obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all thefe authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his caufe to the holy father, and threatening him with the moft dangerous confequences in cafe of a denial of juftice [u]. The convocations, too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to difpenfe [w]. But Clement, lying ftill under the influence of the emperor, continued to fummon the king to appear, either by himfelf or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refufed to fubmit to fuch a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high infult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltfhire, carried to the pope the king's reafons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the firft inftance of difrefpect from England, refu-

CHAP. XIX. 1530.

r Herbert. Burnet.
s Wood, Hift. and Ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225.
t Burnet, vol. i. p. 6.
u Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95.
w Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454. 472.

CHAP. XXX. 1530. fied to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very graciously held out to him for that purpose [x].

The extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, were naturally disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey; and as Henry foresaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the prosecution against his ancient favourite. After Wolsey had remained some time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a present from Henry, in return for Hampton Court: But the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to resist: He took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hospitality [y]; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose
Nov. 28. more. A little before he expired, he addressed himself in the following words to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody. "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto "his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf "to call to his remembrance all matters that have "passed

[x] Burnet, vol. i. p. 94. [y] Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.

" passed between us from the beginning, especially CHAP. XXX.
" with regard to his business with the queen; and 1530.
" then will he know in his conscience, whether I have
" offended him.

" He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath
" a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or
" want any part of his will, he will endanger the one
" half of his kingdom.

" I do assure you, that I have often kneeled before
" him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade
" him from his will and appetite; but could not pre-
" vail: Had I but served God as diligently as I have
" served the king, he would not have given me over
" in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that
" I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not
" regarding my service to God, but only to my prince.
" Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of the
" privy council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take
" care what you put into the king's head: For you
" can never put it out again [z]."

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If, in foreign politics, he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes, rather than his master's service, which he boasted he had solely at heart; we must remember, that he had in view the Wolsey's death.

[z] Cavendish.

CHAP. XXI. 1530.

papal throne; a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboise, whose memory is respected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was, in some respect, similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death, when informed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory: A proof, that humour, more than reason, or any discovery of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against him.

1531. 16 January. A parliament.

A new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, and render his exercise of the legantine power criminal, notwithstanding the king's permission; the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended, that every one who had submitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them[a]. The convocation knew, that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his authority. They chose therefore to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 pounds for a pardon[b]. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that *the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England*; though

[a] Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.
[b] Hollingshed, p. 923.

though ſome of them had the dexterity to get a clauſe inſerted which invalidated the whole ſubmiſſion, and which ran in theſe terms, *in ſo far as is permitted by the law of Chriſt.* CHAP. XXX. 1531.

The commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehenſive for themſelves, leſt either they ſhould afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their ſubmiſſion to the legantine court, or a ſupply, in like manner, be extorted from them, in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remiſſion to his lay ſubjects; but they met with a repulſe. He told them, that if he ever choſe to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodneſs, not from their application, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they deſpaired of obtaining this conceſſion, he was pleaſed to iſſue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expreſſed great gratitude for that act of clemency[c].

By this ſtrict execution of the ſtatute of proviſors, a great part of the profit, and ſtill more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the Engliſh clergy were, in ſome meaſure, diſſolved. The next ſeſſion found both king and parliament in the ſame diſpoſitions. An act was paſſed againſt levying the annates or firſt fruits[d]; being a year's rent of all the biſhopries that fell vacant: A tax which was impoſed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to conſiderable ſums. Since the ſecond of Henry VII. no leſs than one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been tranſmitted to Rome on account of this claim; which the 1532. 15 January. Progreſs of the reformation.

[c] Hall's Chronicle. Hollingſhed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.
[d] Burnet, vol. i. Collect. N° 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

CHAP. XIII. 1532.

the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the epiſcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entruſted with a power of regulating theſe payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleaſure: And it was voted, that any cenſures which ſhould be paſſed by the court of Rome on account of that law, ſhould be entirely diſregarded; and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

This ſeſſion the commons preferred to the king a long complaint againſt the abuſes and oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference aroſe, which put an end to the ſeſſion before the parliament had finiſhed all their buſineſs. It was become a cuſtom for men to make ſuch ſettlements, or truſt-deeds, of their lands by will, that they defrauded, not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and, by the ſame artifice, the king was deprived of his premier ſeiſin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconſiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuſe: He was contented that every man ſhould have the liberty of diſpoſing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, "If they would not take a reaſonable thing when it "was offered, he would ſearch out the extremity of "the law, and then would not offer them ſo much "again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: A ſingular inſtance, where Henry might ſee that his power and authority, though extenſive, had yet ſome boundaries. The commons, however, found reaſon to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ableſt lawyers, who argued the queſtion in chancery; and it was decided, that

that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir[e]. CHAP. XXIX.

The parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns[f], the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley, the speaker; and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow[g]. 1532. 10th April.

After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from his high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue,

e Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary History.

f Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124.

g Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

CHAP. XXX. 1532.

virtue, and the ſanctity of his manners, had now encroached on the gentleneſs of his temper, or even demoliſhed that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He ſported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high ſtation, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his ſerene and equal ſpirit. While his family diſcovered ſymptoms of ſorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accuſtomed, he drew a ſubject of mirth from their diſtreſſes; and made them aſhamed of loſing even a moment's cheerfulneſs on account of ſuch trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his reſignation with ſome difficulty; and he delivered the great ſeal ſoon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

During theſe tranſactions in England, and theſe invaſions of the papal and eccleſiaſtical authority, the court of Rome was not without ſolicitude; and ſhe entertained juſt apprehenſions of loſing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which, of all others, had long been the moſt devoted to the holy ſee, and which had yielded it the moſt ample revenue. While the imperial cardinals puſhed Clement to proceed to extremities againſt the king, his more moderate and impartial counſellors repreſented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had ſignalized himſelf, both by his pen and his ſword, in the cauſe of the pope, ſhould be denied a favour which he demanded on ſuch juſt grounds, and which had ſcarcely ever before been refuſed to any perſon of his rank and ſtation. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and ſeveral conſiſtories were held, to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not

to

to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court: He only dispatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr Bonner, in quality of excusators, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed, if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that satisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship, as well as public alliance, with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which, he believed, he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr Cranmer, were present at the ceremony[h]. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

CHAP. XXI.

1532.

11th Oct.

14th Nov.

The parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which

1533. 4th Feb. A parliament.

h Herbert, p. 340, 341.

CHAP. XXXI. 1533.

which they looſened their connexions with the ſee of Rome, and repreſſed the uſurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made againſt all appeals to Rome in cauſes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other ſuits cognizable in eccleſiaſtical courts; appeals eſteemed diſhonourable to the kingdom, by ſubjecting it to a foreign juriſdiction; and found to be very vexatious, by the expence and the delay of juſtice which neceſſarily attended them[i]. The more to ſhew his diſregard to the pope, Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulneſs, he prepared meaſures for declaring, by a formal ſentence, the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: A ſentence which ought naturally to have preceded his eſpouſing of Anne[k].

25th April.

The king, even amidſt his ſcruples and remorſes on account of his firſt marriage, had always treated Catherine with reſpect and diſtinction; and he endeavoured, by every ſoft and perſuaſive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her oppoſition to his divorce. Finding her obſtinate in maintaining the juſtice of her cauſe, he had totally forborne all viſits and intercourſe with her; and had deſired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which ſhe ſhould pleaſe to reſide. She had fixed her abode for ſome time at Amphill, near Dunſtable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbiſhop of Canterbury on the death of Warham[l], was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was choſen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as ſhe made no anſwer to the citation, either by herſelf or proxy, ſhe was declared *contumacious*; and the primate proceeded to the examination

10th May.

i 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. k Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and records, No. 8.
l See note (E) at the end of the volume.

amination of the cauſe. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were a-new produced; the opinions of the univerſities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and, after theſe preliminary ſteps, Cranmer proceeded to a ſentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a ſubſequent ſentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who ſoon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity ſuited to that ceremony[m]. To complete the king's ſatisfaction on the concluſion of this intricate and vexatious affair, ſhe was ſafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards ſwayed the ſceptre with ſuch renown and felicity. Henry was ſo much delighted with the birth of this child, that, ſoon after, he conferred on her the title of Princeſs of Wales[n]; a ſtep ſomewhat irregular, as ſhe could only be preſumptive, not apparent, heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter, Mary, with that title; and he was determined to beſtow on the offspring of his preſent marriage the ſame mark of diſtinction, as well as to exclude the elder princeſs from all hopes of the ſucceſſion. His regard for the new queen ſeemed rather to encreaſe than diminiſh by his marriage; and all men expected to ſee the entire aſcendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had ſet her at ſo great a diſtance, and who, by a proper mixture of ſeverity and indulgence, had long managed ſo intractable a ſpirit as that of Henry. In order to efface, as much as poſſible, all marks of his firſt marriage, Lord Mountjoy was ſent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that ſhe was thenceforth to be treated only as princeſs-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquieſce in that

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m Heylin, p. 6. n Burnet. vol. i. p. 134.

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determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions[o].

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication if, before the first of November ensuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood[p]. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the duchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena[q]; and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and

o Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132. q Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guicciardini. p Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.

and French king at Marſeilles; and Francis, as a common friend, there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England. CHAP. XXX. 1533.

Had this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years ſooner, there had been little difficulty in adjuſting the quarrel with Henry. The king's requeſt was an ordinary one; and the ſame plenary power of the pope, which had granted a diſpenſation for his eſpouſing of Catherine, could eaſily have annulled the marriage. But, in the progreſs of the quarrel, the ſtate of affairs was much changed on both ſides. Henry had ſhaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apoſtolic ſee; and, finding that his ſubjects, of all ranks, had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his meaſures for breaking off foreign dependence, he had begun to reliſh his ſpiritual authority, and would ſcarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his ſubmiſſions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifeſt riſque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and, as a ſentence of divorce could no longer be reſted on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be conſtrued as an acknowledgment of papal uſurpations, it was foreſeen that the Lutherans would thence take occaſion of triumph, and would perſevere more obſtinately in their preſent principles. But, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, Francis did not deſpair of mediating an agreement. He obſerved that the king had ſtill ſome remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church, and was apprehenſive of the conſequences which might enſue from too violent innovations. He ſaw the intereſt that Clement had in preſerving the obedience of England, which was one of the richeſt jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that theſe motives on both ſides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

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1534. Francis first prevailed on the pope to promise, that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion[r]. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier, who carried the king's written promise, was detained beyond the day appointed: News was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king, in derision of the pope and cardinals[s]. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory, enflamed with anger; and, by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after, the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

King's final breach with Rome.

23d March.

It is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could

[r] Father Paul, lib. 1.

[s] Father Paul, lib. 1.

could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obſtinate; and, having proceeded ſo far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negociating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained ſo little hopes of ſucceſs, or was ſo indifferent about the event, that he had aſſembled a Parliament, and continued to enact laws totally deſtructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared, by degrees, for this great innovation. Each preceding ſeſſion had retrenched ſomewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during ſome years, to teach the nation that a general council was much ſuperior to a pope. But now a biſhop preached every Sunday at Paul's croſs, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own dioceſe [t]. The proceedings of the parliament ſhowed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reaſon to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable ſentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his ſecond marriage and the ſucceſſion, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have ſurrendered to him any conſiderable ſhare of his aſſumed prerogative. The importance of the laws paſſed this ſeſſion, even before intelligence arrived of the violent reſolutions taken at Rome, is ſufficient to juſtify this opinion.

CHAP. XXIX.

1534. 15th Jan.

A parliament.

All payments made to the apoſtolic chamber, all proviſions, bulls, diſpenſations, were aboliſhed: Monaſteries were ſubjected to the viſitation and government of the king alone: The law for puniſhing heretics, was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited

t Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

CHAP. XXX. 1534. from impriſoning or trying any perſon upon ſuſpicion alone, without preſentment by two lawful witneſſes; and it was declared, that to ſpeak againſt the pope's authority was no hereſy: Biſhops were to be appointed by a *congé d'elire* from the crown, or, in caſe of the dean and chapter's refuſal, by letters patent; and no recourſe was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls or proviſions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter which they had hitherto enjoyed [u]: The law which had been formerly made againſt paying annates or firſt fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to ſuſpend or enforce, was finally eſtabliſhed: And a ſubmiſſion which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received, this ſeſſion, the ſanction of parliament [w]. In this ſubmiſſion, the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be aſſembled by the king's authority only; they promiſe to enact no new canons without his conſent; and they agree that he ſhould appoint thirty-two commiſſioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative [x]. An appeal was alſo allowed from the biſhop's court to the king in chancery.

But the moſt important law, paſſed this ſeſſion, was that which regulated the ſucceſſion to the crown: The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: The primate's ſentence annulling it was ratified: And the marriage with queen Anne was eſtabliſhed and confirmed. The crown was appointed to deſcend to the iſſue of this marriage, and
30th March. failing them, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath, likewiſe, was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of ſucceſſion, under the penalty of impriſonment

u Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl.
w 25 H. VIII. c. 19.
x Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

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ment during the king's pleaſure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all ſlander againſt the king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the penalty of miſprision of treaſon. After theſe compliances the parliament was prorogued; and thoſe acts, ſo contemptuous towards the pope, and ſo deſtructive of his authority, were paſſed at the very time that Clement pronounced his haſty ſentence againſt the king. Henry's reſentment againſt queen Catherine, on account of her obſtinacy, was the reaſon why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown; contrary to his firſt intentions when he began the proceſs of divorce, and of diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage.

The king found his eccleſiaſtical ſubjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act againſt appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, ſhould be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: And they voted, that the biſhop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more juriſdiction in England than any other foreign biſhop; and that the authority which he and his predeceſſors had there exerciſed, was only by uſurpation, and by the ſufferance of Engliſh princes. Four perſons alone oppoſed this vote in the lower houſe, and one doubted. It paſſed unanimouſly in the upper. The biſhops went ſo far in their complaiſance, that they took out new commiſſions from the crown, in which all their ſpiritual and epiſcopal authority was expreſsly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magiſtrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleaſure[y].

The oath regarding the ſucceſſion was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, were the only perſons of note that entertained ſcruples with regard to its legality. Fiſher was obnoxious, on account of ſome practices

y Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii.

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into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and, as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it: He offered to draw an oath himself, which would ensure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwell, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal[z]. He persisted, however, in a mild, though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

3d Novem. The parliament, being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme *head*, on earth, of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, or-"der, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, "abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which "fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction[a]." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 136. [a] 26 H. VIII. c. 1.

to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or ti- CHAP. XXIX.
tles. They gave him a right to all the annates and 1534.
profits of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. Indulgences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy see; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause, why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a great simplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could be exactly determined between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles, by which all human reason, policy, and industry had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits,

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limits, and prevent its abuſes. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial conſequences; though perhaps neither foreſeen nor intended by the perſons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with ſo much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority ſeemed entirely ſecure in England, he was held in ſome inquietude by the ſtate of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural ſon, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accuſed of ſome violences againſt the family of Oſſory, his hereditary enemies, he was ſummoned to anſwer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his ſon, who, hearing that his father was thrown into priſon, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himſelf to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Iriſh nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, archbiſhop of Dublin, and laid ſiege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in priſon, and his ſon, perſevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promiſed him aſſiſtance. The king was obliged to ſend over ſome forces to Ireland, which ſo haraſſed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promiſes, was reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering himſelf priſoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorſet. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public juſtice; though two of the uncles, in order to ſave the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire aſcendant in Scotland; and having gotten poſſeſſion of the king's perſon,

person, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his consort, bred him great disturbance. For having separated herself from him, on account of some jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility, who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence, he incited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt, by force of arms, the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprizes failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglases, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour, in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed, by that means, to maintain national independency. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of such an ally, to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter of

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of Henry, whom he pretended to diſpoſe of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter propoſal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propenſity to France at laſt prevailed over all other conſiderations. The alliance with France neceſſarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle, Henry, to confer with him at Newcaſtle, and concert common meaſures for repreſſing the eccleſiaſtics in both kingdoms, and ſhaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himſelf in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refuſing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any perſonal negociations with an enemy of the holy ſee. From theſe meaſures, Henry eaſily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendſhip of his nephew. But thoſe events took not place till ſome time after our preſent period.

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CHAP. XXXI.

Religious principles of the people——of the king——of the miniſters——Farther progreſs of the reformation——Sir Thomas More——The maid of Kent——Trial and execution of Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter——of Sir Thomas More——King excommunicated——Death of Queen Catherine——Suppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries——A parliament——A convocation——Tranſlation of the Bible——Diſgrace of Queen Anne——Her trial——and execution——A parliament——A convocation——Diſcontents among the people——Inſurrection——Birth of Prince Edward, and death of Queen Jane——Suppreſſion of the greater monaſteries——Cardinal Pole.

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1534. Religious principles of the people.

THE ancient and almoſt uninterrupted oppoſition of intereſts between the laity and clergy in England, and between the Engliſh clergy and the court of Rome, had ſufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the ſovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to diſcover abuſes, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found deſtructive of their own. Theſe ſubjects ſeemed proportioned to human underſtanding; and even the people, who felt the power of intereſt in their own breaſt, could perceive the purpoſe of thoſe numerous inventions, which the intereſted ſpirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to diſpute concerning the nature of the ſacraments, the operations

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tions of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during some time, at a loss how to chuse their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Here the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: Hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: And hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in a habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed, to the prejudices of ancient authority,

thority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity, in suffering persecution, death and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors. CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in some respects, dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent of shaking so ancient and deep-founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy, might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit, which naturally took place among the reformers, increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany [b], furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because Protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his

[b] Sleidan, lib. 4. & 5.

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his own capital, where he united both the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers [c]; and there was ſmall likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging ſedition, could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But, beſides this political jealouſy, there was another reaſon which inſpired this imperious monarch with an averſion to the reformers. He had early declared his ſentiments againſt Luther; and having entered the liſts in thoſe ſcholaſtic quarrels, he had received, from his courtiers and theologians, infinite applauſe for his performance. Elated by this imaginary ſucceſs, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obſtinacy of temper, he had entertained the moſt lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received, with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his ſentiments. Luther alſo had been ſo imprudent, as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagoniſt; and though he afterwards made the moſt humble ſubmiſſions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expreſſions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived againſt him and his doctrines. The idea of hereſy ſtill appeared deteſtable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilſt his reſentment againſt the ſee of Rome had corrected one conſiderable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquiſh the remainder. Separate as he ſtood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he ſtill valued himſelf on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and ſword, the imagined purity of his ſpeculative principles.

Of the king.

Of the miniſters.

Henry's miniſters and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and ſeemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by intereſt as well as

[c] See note [F] at the end of the volume.

favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the Protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with factions, and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and, by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had inlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcileable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith, and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him both by Protestants and Catholics, to assume an un-

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bounded authority: And though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he carefully steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound policies could have traced out to him. Artifice, dissimulation, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: But while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper, were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him, cordially and fully, into their interests.

The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the Protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp[d], where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces favored, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other Protestants, they asserted, that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and

Farther progress of the reformation.

[d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

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that the most infallible road to perdition[e] was a reliance on good works; by which terms they understood, as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of good works; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books composed by these fugitives having stolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tonstal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage, in the gentlest manner, these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people, in thus committing to the flames the word of God[f].

The disciples of the reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order to serve as an instrument of their

e Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per solam fidem. *Luther adversus regem.* Ita vides quam dives sit homo Christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. *Id. de captivitate Babylonicâ.*

f Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

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tyranny: It was even an article of impeachment against him[g], that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had, in his early years, advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in the prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners, as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield[h].

Many were brought into the bishops courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party: Some for teaching their children

g Articles of impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.
h Fox. Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

the Lord's prayer in English; others for read- CHAP. XXII.
the New Testament in that language, or for speak- 1534.
against pilgrimages. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse, that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last, his mind seemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken, of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages or to the cowle of St Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars, who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them[1] of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person, still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots which were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions, which,

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 164.

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in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

But though Henry neglected not to punish the Protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets "had deceived him; but he, as a true Micaiah, "warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, "as they had done Ahab's[k]." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him, that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar; but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence[l]. He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: When the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames, Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land[m].

But

k Strype, vol. i. p. 167. vol. i. p. 151.
l Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, m Stowe, p. 562.

that several monks were deeſted in a conſpiracy, c. 19. A. 1533.
which, as it might have proved more dangerous to
the king, was on its diſcovery attended with more 1534.
fatal conſequences to themſelves. Elizabeth Barton,
of Addington in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid* The Maid
of Kent, had been ſubject to hyſterical fits, which of Kent.
threw her body into unuſual convulſions; and having
produced an equal diſorder in her mind, made her ut-
ter ſtrange ſayings, which, as ſhe was ſcarcely con-
ſcious of them during the time, had ſoon after entire-
ly eſcaped her memory. The ſilly people in the neigh-
bourhood were ſtruck with theſe appearances, which
they imagined to be ſupernatural; and Richard Ma-
ſters, vicar of the pariſh, a deſigning fellow, found-
ed on them a project, from which he hoped to ac-
quire both profit and conſideration. He went to War-
ham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then alive; and ha-
ving given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations,
he ſo far wrought on that prudent, but ſuperſtitious
prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her
in her trances, and carefully to note down all her fu-
ture ſayings. The regard paid her by a perſon of ſo
high a rank ſoon rendered her ſtill more the object of
attention to the neighbourhood; and it was eaſy for
Maſters to perſuade them, as well as the maid herſelf,
that her ravings were inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt.
Knavery, as is uſual, ſoon after ſucceeding to delu-
ſion, ſhe learned to counterfeit trances; and ſhe then
uttered, in an extraordinary tone, ſuch ſpeeches as
were dictated to her by her ſpiritual director. Maſters
aſſociated with him Dr Bocking, a canon of Canter-
bury; and their deſign was to raiſe the credit of an
image of the Virgin, which ſtood in a chapel belong-
ing to Maſters, and to draw to it ſuch pilgrimages as
uſually frequented the more famous images and re-
liques. In proſecution of this deſign, Elizabeth pre-
tended revelations which directed her to have recourſe

1530 no other images for a cure; and being brought before [illegible] in the presence of a great multitude, she fell [illegible] in convulsions; and, after distorting her limbs [illegible] grimaces during a competent time, she affected [illegible] have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the Virgin[n]. This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert, that if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth[o]. Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of the new prophetess. Messages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher, bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favourable to the party which he had espoused[p]. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them

n Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles.

o Strype, vol. i. p. 181.

p Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.

before the star-chamber, where they freely, [illegible] being put to the torture, made confession of [illegible]. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable intrigue[p]; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth[q]: And they were sent into prison. The better to undeceive the people, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous profligacy of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions, which so naturally insinuate themselves amid the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes. 1533.

The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: They had lately 1536.

[p] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 149. Hal. fol. 229.

[q] Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

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lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church: It was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament, in passing this law, had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: But the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what, during many ages, it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was, at first, shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress; pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

Trial and execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison, on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and, without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his nakedness [r]. In this condition he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him

[r] Fuller's Church Hist. book 5. p. 203.

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made a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity, that, even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indict- 22d June. ed for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

The execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man, who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was, as yet, no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: He was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a two-edged sword: If a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy [s]. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: The jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation

Or Sir Thomas More.

[s] More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.

CHAP. XXIX. preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, his usual facetiousness never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up, and when "I come down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit "by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as the man followed his principles, and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

6th July.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published, by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III. of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped, that personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England: And the king himself was so desirous of accommodating matters, that, in a negociation, which he entered into with Francis a little before this time,

he

[illegible] 1535.

[illegible] 30th Aug.

[illegible] King excommunicated.

made

[illegible]

t Sanders, p. 148. u Herbert, p. 350, 351.

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made advances to the princes of the Protestant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition. And Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent Foxe, bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bebay, lord of Langley, to treat with them. But, during the first fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions[w]. Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with those wretched composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes told the king, that they could not spare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in every thing else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that, even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor: And the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate, that he deemed himself

[w] Sleidan, lib. 10.

himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these CHAP. XXIII.
pretenders.

During those negociations, an incident happened in 1536.
England, which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way to a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: She died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of *her most dear Lord, King, and Husband.* She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: That though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things*[x]. The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but Queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit[y].

6th Jan. Death of Queen Catharine.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and

[x] Herbert, p. 403.

[y] Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.

and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions[a]; that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the duchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge, that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: As to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

What rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, was, both his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained, that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him, as head of the Germanic body: Not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince, who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to

I Milan

a Du Bellay, liv. 5. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. No. 50.

Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was CHAP. XXXII.
content to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention in this liberal concession was to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out a-new in bravadoes, and in personal insults on each other, ill-becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near 30,000 strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find, both that his ally, Francis, was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully ensured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent. 1536.

If any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous situation of his ally, Francis, generously levied some forces; and embarking them on board vessels, which he had hired for that purpose, landed them safely in France. He even went over in person; and making haste to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulsed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen,

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daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match, than what arose from the infirm ſtate of his daughter's health, which ſeemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princeſs, and obtained her conſent, the father would no longer oppoſe the united deſires of his daughter and his friend: They were accordingly married, and ſoon after ſet ſail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreſeen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid, leſt his ally, Henry, whom he likewiſe looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is uſual among great princes, ſhould be diſpleaſed that this cloſe confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore diſpatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this meaſure; but Henry, with his uſual openneſs and freedom, expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure, that he refuſed even to confer with the ambaſſador; and Francis was apprehenſive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his meaſures more by humour and paſſion, than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was ſo fettered by the oppoſition, in which he was engaged againſt the pope and the emperor, that he purſued no farther this diſguſt againſt Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the ſide of France and of Scotland.

The domeſtic peace of England ſeemed to be expoſed to more hazard, by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing enſured public tranquillity ſo much as the deciſive authority acquired by the king, and his great aſcendant over all his ſubjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown, was profound during that age: The perſonal reſpect, inſpired by Henry, was conſiderable; and even the terrors,

pels, with which he over-awed every one, were not CHAP. XXXI.
attended with any conſiderable degree of hatred. His 1536.
frankneſs, his ſincerity, his magnificence, his generoſity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuoſity. And the important rank which his vigour, more than his addreſs, acquired him in all foreign negociations, flattered the vanity of Engliſhmen, and made them the more willingly endure thoſe domeſtic hardſhips to which they were expoſed. The king, conſcious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the moſt dangerous exerciſe of his authority; and after paving the way for that meaſure by ſeveral preparatory expedients, he was at laſt determined to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, and to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of their ample revenues.

The great encreaſe of monaſteries, if matters be conſidered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the Catholic religion; and every other diſadvantage, attending that communion, ſeems to have an inſeparable connection with theſe religious inſtitutions. Papal uſurpations, the tyranny of the inquiſition, the multiplicity of holidays; all theſe fetters on liberty and induſtry were ultimately derived from the authority and inſinuation of monks, whoſe habitations, being eſtabliſhed every where, proved ſo many ſeminaries of ſuperſtition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged againſt Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the ſole protection which they enjoyed againſt the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now ſubjected to the king's viſitation; the ſuppoſed ſacredneſs of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progreſs of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monaſtic orders, gave them reaſon to apprehend like conſequences in England; and though the king ſtill maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which moſt

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of the convents owed their origin and ſupport, it was foreſeen, that, in the progreſs of the conteſt, he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient inſtitutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political intereſts naturally induced him to unite. Moved by theſe conſiderations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people againſt the king's government; and Henry, finding their ſafety irreconcileable with his own, was determined to ſeize the preſent opportunity, and utterly deſtroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, ſecretary of ſtate, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's ſupremacy, or the abſolute, uncontroulable power, aſſumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellaſis, and others, as commiſſioners, who carried on, every where, a rigorous enquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, eſpecially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adverſaries; and as it was known, that the king's intention in this viſitation was to find a pretence for aboliſhing monaſteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commiſſioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations againſt their brethren. The ſlighteſt evidence was credited. And even the calumnies, ſpread abroad by the friends of the reformation, were regarded as grounds of proof. Monſtrous diſorders are therefore ſaid to have been found in many of the religious houſes: Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdneſs: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural luſts between perſons of the ſame ſex. It is, indeed, probable, that the blind ſubmiſſion of the people, during thoſe ages, would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more diſſolute than they

they are in any Roman Catholic country at present: CHAP. XXXI.
But still, the reproaches which it is safest to credit, 1536.
are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who, being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds, practised to encrease the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and, though monks were the true preservers, as well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind, or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition, carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were, on that account, supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations

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novations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which, to their ancestors, had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

4th Feb. A parliament.

The king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic order, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a-year[a]. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny[b]; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a-year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more[c]. It does not appear, that any opposition was made to this important law: So absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony[d].

Suppression of the lesser monasteries.

The act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law was renewed; but the project was never carried into

a 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.

b Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

c It is pretended, see Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

d 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.

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late execution. Henry thought that the preſent perplexity of that law encreaſed his authority, and kept the clergy in ſtill greater dependence.

Farther progreſs was made in completing the union of Wales with England: The ſeparate juriſdictions of ſeveral great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obſtructed the courſe of juſtice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were aboliſhed; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some juriſdictions of a like nature in England were alſo aboliſhed[e] this ſeſſion.

The commons, ſenſible that they had gained nothing by oppoſing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to ſecure the profits of wardſhips and liveries, were now contented to frame a law[f], ſuch as he dictated to them. It was enacted, that the poſſeſſion of land ſhall be adjudged to be in thoſe who have the uſe of it, not in thoſe to whom it is tranſferred in truſt.

After all theſe laws were paſſed, the king diſſolved the parliament; a parliament memorable, not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but alſo for the long time it had ſitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it ſo obſequious to his will, that he did not chuſe, during thoſe religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the ſame parliament above ſix years: A practice, at that time, unuſual in England. 14th April.

The convocation, which ſat during this ſeſſion, was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new tranſlation which was projected of the ſcriptures. The tranſlation given by Tindal, though corrected by himſelf in a new edition, was ſtill complained of by the clergy, as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now propoſed to them, that they A convocation.

[e] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4. [f] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

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should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

The friends of the reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which, for the purpose of universal salvation, had published that salutary doctrine to all nations; That if this practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness, that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text, dictated by Supreme Intelligence: That it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter, which was, on all hands, acknowledged to be derived from heaven: And that, as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again, by their means, revealed to mankind.

The favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors, whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itself had appointed for their spiritual direction: That the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to chuse their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make

make any proper use: That, even in the affairs of CHAP.
common life, and in their temporal concerns, which XXXII.
lie more within the compass of human reason, the 1536.
Jews had, in a great measure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour: That theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehensions; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: That the gross errors adopted by the wisest heathens proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkness; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, those fatal illusions: That sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be entrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: That the poetical style, in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: That a thousand sects must rise, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: And that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the

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tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or enquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure, establishments.

These latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical governments, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years time the work was finished, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

Disgrace of Queen Anne.

But while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness, Anne Boleyn, possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life, by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still encreased, under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious,

was

was diſpoſed to make the innocent mother anſwerable for the misfortune[s]. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king againſt her, was his jealouſy. CHAP. XXIII. 1536

Anne, though ſhe appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous, in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity, of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her leſs circumſpect than her ſituation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to thoſe freedoms; and it was with difficulty ſhe conformed herſelf to that ſtrict ceremonial practiſed in the court of England. More vain than haughty, ſhe was pleaſed to ſee the influence of her beauty on all around her, and ſhe indulged herſelf in an eaſy familiarity with perſons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendſhip and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with theſe popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the huſband poſſeſſed but too quick diſcernment and penetration. Ill inſtruments interpoſed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmleſs liberties of the queen: The viſcounteſs of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her ſiſter-in-law, inſinuated the moſt cruel ſuſpicions into the king's mind; and as ſhe was a woman of a profligate character, ſhe paid no regard either to truth or humanity in thoſe calumnies which ſhe ſuggeſted. She pretended that her own huſband was engaged in a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; and, not content with this imputation, ſhe poiſoned every action of the queen's, and repreſented each inſtance of favour which ſhe conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton,

[s] Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.

CHAP. XXIII. 1536. Smeton, groom of the chamber, were observed to poſſeſs much of the queen's friendſhip; and they ſerved her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be ſeaſoned with ſome mixture of tenderneſs for ſo amiable a princeſs. The king's jealouſy laid hold of the ſlighteſt circumſtance; and finding no particular object on which it could faſten, it vented itſelf equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

Had Henry's jealouſy been derived from love, though it might on a ſudden have proceeded to the moſt violent extremities, it would have been ſubject to many remorſes and contrarieties; and might at laſt have ſerved only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was more a ſtern jealouſy, foſtered entirely by pride: His love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire aſcendant over him; and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to moſt monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damſels of their court rather honoured than diſgraced by their paſſion, he ſeldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than thoſe which he ſought to avoid by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the deſign of raiſing his new miſtreſs to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every ſuggeſtion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

1st May. The king's jealouſy firſt appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably caſual, but interpreted

interpreted by him as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours [h]. He immediately retired from the place; ſent orders to confine her to her chamber; arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, together with her brother, Rocheford; and threw them into priſon. The queen, aſtoniſhed at theſe inſtances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earneſt, ſhe reflected on his obſtinate unrelenting ſpirit, and ſhe prepared herſelf for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day ſhe was ſent to the Tower; and on her way thither ſhe was informed of her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had hitherto been ignorant: She made earneſt proteſtations of her innocence; and when ſhe entered the priſon, ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her ſurpriſe and confuſion threw her into hyſterical diſorders; and, in that ſituation, ſhe thought that the beſt proof of her innocence was to make an entire confeſſion, and ſhe revealed ſome indiſcretions and levities, which her ſimplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that ſhe had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him, that he probably expected her, when ſhe ſhould be a widow: She had reproved Weſton, ſhe ſaid, for his affection to a kinſwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: But he told her, that ſhe had miſtaken the object of his affection, for it was herſelf: Upon which ſhe defied him [i]. She affirmed, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpſichord: But ſhe acknowledged that he had once had the boldneſs to tell her, that a look ſufficed him. The king, inſtead of being ſatisfied with the candour and ſincerity of her confeſſion, regarded theſe indiſcretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

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Of

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 198. [i] Strype, vol. i. p. 281.

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Of all thoſe multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged, during her proſperous fortune, not one durſt interpoſe between her and the king's fury; and the perſon whoſe advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had ſmiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, was become her moſt dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the Catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the moſt intimate union with the apoſtolic ſee. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, ſtill retained his friendſhip for her; and, as far as the king's impetuoſity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained againſt her.

The queen herſelf wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the moſt tender expoſtulations, and of the warmeſt proteſtations of innocence[k]. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced againſt them. The chief proof of their guilt conſiſted in a hearſay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confeſs a criminal correſpondence with the queen[l]; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confeſſion; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were alſo Brereton and Weſton. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confeſs his crime, and accuſe the queen: But he

k See note [G] at the end of the volume. l Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

he generously rejected the proposal; and said, that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless: But, for his part, he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person. CHAP. XXIII. 1536.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: Their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them, is unknown: The chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more, than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions, that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever: *Which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her.* By this strained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant! Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and Lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands to heaven, said, "O, Father! O, Creator! thou who art the way, the "truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not "deserved Her trial,

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" deserved this fate." And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: He recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the English court, some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then Lord Piercy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them: He received the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk, and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity [m]. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediments to her marriage with the king [n]. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that, if her marriage were, from the beginning, invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

and execution.

The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: From a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in

m Herbert, p. 384. n Heylin, p. 94.

in heaven. She then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with chearfulneſs. "The executioner," ſhe ſaid to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; "and my neck is very ſlender:" Upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and ſmiled. When brought, however, to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little with regard to her proteſtations of innocence. She probably reflected, that the obſtinacy of Queen Catherine, and her oppoſition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the Lady Mary: Her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in theſe laſt moments over that indignation which the unjuſt ſentence by which ſhe ſuffered naturally excited in her. She ſaid, that ſhe was come to die, as ſhe was ſentenced, by the law: She would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and if any one ſhould think proper to canvaſs her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt[a]. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was ſent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower. A.D. MDXXXVI. 1536. 19th May.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion. Henry himſelf, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuſe as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four perſons more, he was able to bring proof againſt none of them. The whole tenour of her conduct forbids us to aſcribe to her an abandoned

[a] Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

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character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: Had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution[p]. His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person, who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

The Lady Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her, on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: He required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father[q], containing her assent to the articles required of her: Upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the Lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

8th June. A parliament.

The trial and conviction of Queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon

p Ibidem, p. 297. q Burnet, vol. i. p. 207. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

ſummon a new parliament; and he, here, in his ſpeech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithſtanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The ſpeaker received this profeſſion with ſuitable gratitude; and he took thence occaſion to praiſe the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: He compared him, for juſtice and prudence, to Solomon; for ſtrength and fortitude, to Sampſon; and for beauty and comelineſs, to Abſalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he diſavowed theſe praiſes; ſince, if he were really poſſeſſed of ſuch endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no leſs ſubmiſſive in deeds than complaiſant in their expreſſions, and that they would go the ſame lengths as the former in gratifying even his moſt lawleſs paſſions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified [r]; that queen, and all her accomplices, were attainted; the iſſue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treaſon to aſſert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any ſlander upon the preſent king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the ſame penalty; the crown was ſettled on the king's iſſue by Jane Seymour, or any ſubſequent wife: and in caſe he ſhould die without children, he was impowered, by his will or letters patent, to diſpoſe of the crown: An enormous authority, eſpecially when entruſted to a prince ſo violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any article of this act of ſettlement, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; and by this clauſe a ſpecies of political inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in the

A.D. 1536.

[r] The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reaſon, "For that his "highneſs had choſen to wife the ex- "cellent and virtuous Lady Jane, who "for her convenient years, excellent "beauty, and pureneſs of fleſh and "blood, would be apt, God willing, "to conceive iſſue by his highneſs."

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kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was empowered to confer on any one by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design, formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

Another accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown: The king, or any of his successors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office, ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of *So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists*[s]. The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry: But this was the reception he

[s] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

be met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal cenſures; and finding a great increaſe of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to perſevere in his preſent meaſures. This parliament alſo, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the reſpect of his ſubjects, and what confidence he might repoſe in them. Though the elections had been made on a ſudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members diſcovered an unlimited attachment to his perſon and government[t].

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The extreme complaiſance of the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time with the parliament, encouraged him in his reſolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was ſecretly a great diviſion of ſentiments in the minds of this aſſembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by ſome late ſucceſſes, the reſentment of the Catholics was no leſs excited by their fears and loſſes: But the authority of the king kept every one ſubmiſſive and ſilent; and the new-aſſumed prerogative, the ſupremacy, with whoſe limits no one was fully acquainted, reſtrained even the moſt furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwell preſided as vicar-general; and though the Catholic party expected that, on the fall of Queen Anne, his authority would receive a great ſhock, they were ſurprized to find him ſtill maintain the ſame credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St David's. The oppoſite faction was headed by Lee archbiſhop of York, Stokeſley biſhop of London, Tonſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich,

A convocation.

t Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

CHAP. XXIII. 1536. and Kite of Carliſle. The former party, by their oppoſition to the pope, ſeconded the king's ambition and love of power: The latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his ſpeculative principles: And both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of theſe motives.

The church in general was averſe to the reformation; and the lower houſe of convocation framed a liſt of opinions, in the whole ſixty-ſeven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, ſome held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern Proteſtants, or Goſpellers, as they were ſometimes called. Theſe opinions they ſent to the upper houſe to be cenſured; but in the preamble of their repreſentation, they diſcovered the ſervile ſpirit by which they were governed. They ſaid, "that "they intended not to do or ſpeak any thing which "might be unpleaſant to the king, whom they acknowledge their ſupreme head, and whoſe commands they were reſolved to obey; renouncing the "pope's uſurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguiſhed and aboliſhed; and addicting themſelves to Almighty God and his laws, "and unto the king and the laws made within this "kingdom [u]."

The convocation came at laſt, after ſome debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the aſſembly itſelf, or rather as the king's ſyſtem of theology, by which they were reſolved entirely to ſquare their principles. They determined the ſtandard of faith to conſiſt in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apoſtolic, Nicene, and Athanaſian; and this article was a ſignal victory to the reformers: Auricular confeſſion and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the Catholics: No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation,

[u] Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

mation, or holy orders, as ſacraments; and in this omiſſion the influence of the Proteſtants appeared: The real preſence was aſſerted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were eſtabliſhed to be the merits of Chriſt, and the mercy and good pleaſure of God, ſuitably to the new principles. CHAP. XXXII. 1536.

So far the two ſects ſeem to have made a fair partition, by alternately ſharing the ſeveral clauſes. In framing the ſubſequent articles, each of them ſeems to have thrown in its ingredient. The Catholics prevailed in aſſerting, that the uſe of images was warranted by Scripture; the Proteſtants in warning the people againſt idolatry, and the abuſe of theſe ſenſible repreſentations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to ſaints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of ſaints to any trade, profeſſion, or courſe of action. The former rites of worſhip, the uſe of holy water, and the ceremonies practiſed on Aſh-Wedneſday, Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other feſtivals, were ſtill maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of theſe inſtitutions, were alſo adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting ſin, and by its aſſerting that their ſole merit conſiſted in promoting pious and devout diſpoſitions in the mind.

But the article with regard to purgatory contains the moſt curious jargon, ambiguity, and heſitation, ariſing from the mixture of oppoſite tenets. It was to this purpoſe: "Since, according to due order of "charity, and the book of Maccabees, and divers "ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable "deed to pray for ſouls departed; and ſince ſuch a "practice has been maintained in the church from "the beginning; all biſhops and teachers ſhould "inſtruct the people not to be grieved for the con-"tinuance of the ſame. But ſince the place where

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"departed ſouls are retained, before they reach Paradiſe, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by Scripture; all ſuch queſtions are to be ſubmitted to God, to whoſe mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceaſed, truſting that he accepteth our prayers for them [w]."

Theſe articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were ſubſcribed by every member of that aſſembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himſelf, who had adopted preciſely theſe very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious diviſions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and theſe conſiſted only of ſpeculative or whimſical people, of whom two perſons could ſcarcely be brought to an agreement in the ſame dogmas. The Proteſtants, all of them, carried their oppoſition to Rome farther than thoſe articles: None of the Catholics went ſo far: And the king, by being able to retain the nation in ſuch a delicate medium, diſplayed the utmoſt power of an imperious deſpotiſm, of which any hiſtory furniſhes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when ſeconded by a party, is one of the moſt perilous enterprizes which any ſovereign can attempt, and often proves the moſt deſtructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to ſet the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even ſtop its career: He could ſay to it, Thus far ſhalt thou go and no farther: And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation ſubſervient, not only to his intereſts and paſſions, but even to his greateſt caprices;

[w] Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & ſeq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

prices; nay, to his most refined and most scholastic subtilties.

CHAP. XXXII.

1536.

The concurrences of these two national assemblies served, no doubt, to encrease the king's power over the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute, than any prince, in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds, beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed [z], had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour [y]. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie, during many ages, in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous, that men, who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of

Discontents among the people.

z See note [H] at the end of the volume.

y Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

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of the commiſſioners and others, employed in viſiting the monaſteries, intercepted much of the profits reſulting from theſe confiſcations, it tended much to encreaſe the general diſcontent[z].

But the people did not break into open ſedition, till the complaints of the ſecular clergy concurred with thoſe of the regular. As Cromwell's perſon was little acceptable to the eccleſiaſtics; the authority which he exerciſed being ſo new, ſo abſolute, ſo unlimited, inſpired them with diſguſt and terror. He publiſhed, in the king's name, without the conſent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance, by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited ſeveral ſuperſtitions gainful to the clergy, ſuch as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the pariſhes to ſet apart a conſiderable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the ſupport of exhibitioners and the poor of their pariſh. The ſecular prieſts, finding themſelves thus reduced to a grievous ſervitude, inſtilled into the people thoſe diſcontents, which they had long harboured in their own boſoms.

Inſurrection.

The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire. It was headed by Dr Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was diſguiſed like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of Captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men[a]; but, notwithſtanding their number, they ſhowed little diſpoſition of proceeding to extremities againſt the king, and ſeemed ſtill overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be ſupreme head of the church of England; but they complained of ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, of evil counſellors, of perſons meanly born raiſed to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were expoſed: And they prayed the king to conſult the nobility of the realm concerning

z Burnet, vol. i. p. 223.

a Ibid. p. 227. Herbert.

concerning the redreſs of theſe grievances [b]. Henry was little diſpoſed to entertain apprehenſions of danger, eſpecially from a low multitude, whom he deſpiſed. He ſent forces againſt the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very ſharp anſwer to their petition. There were ſome gentry, whom the populace had conſtrained to take part with them, and who kept a ſecret correſpondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that reſentment againſt the king's reply was the chief cauſe which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder anſwer would probably ſuppreſs the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march againſt the rebels; and being ſo well ſupported by power, he thought that, without loſing his dignity, he might now ſhow them ſome greater condeſcenſion. He ſent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: The populace was diſperſed: Mackrel and ſome of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their uſual occupations: A few of the more obſtinate fled to the north, where they joined the inſurrection that was raiſed in thoſe parts.

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The northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were alſo, on other accounts, more formidable than thoſe of Lincolnſhire; becauſe the people were there more accuſtomed to arms, and becauſe of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of theſe diſorders. One Aſke, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he poſſeſſed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprize they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: Some prieſts marched before in the habits of their order, carrying croſſes in their hands: In their banners was woven a crucifix, with

[b] Herbert, p. 410.

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with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ[c]: They wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: They all took an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive, than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less then their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

The earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard for the king's service, raised forces, though at first without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborow-castle against them[d]: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: They had laid siege to Pomfret castle, into which the archbishop of York and Lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause which he was sent to oppose. His prudent

[c] Fox, vol. ii. p. 992. [d] Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but, during the night, there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly unpassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negociation, he sent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and Lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed, that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being informed that his artifice had, in a great measure, succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negociation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and separate interests, to throw dissention among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security: But the king, when consulted,

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consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and spirit; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But, while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our whole "council, think it right strange that ye, who be but "brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to ap"point us who be meet or not for our council."

9th Dec.

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal, or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with

with 8000 men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers, except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt, made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam, to surprise Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and, from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed, for his justification, to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of that nobleman's services, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published a-new a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered[e]; and he erected, by patent, a court of justice at York, for deciding law-suits in the northern counties: a demand which had been made by the rebels.

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Soon

[e] Herbert, p. 428.

CHAP. XXXI.

1537. Oct. 12. Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane.

Soon after this prosperous success, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without allay. The queen died two days after [f]. But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, Lord St John; Sir John Russel, Lord Russel.

1538. The suppression of the rebellion, and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various success, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expence on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry continued desirous of cementing a union with the German Protestants; and, for that purpose, he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held

[f] Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

held at Brunſwick; but that miniſter made no great progreſs in his negociation. The princes wiſhed to know what were the articles in their confeſſion which Henry diſliked; and they ſent new ambaſſadors to him, who had orders both to negociate and to diſpute. They endeavoured to convince the king, that he was guilty of a miſtake, in adminiſtering the euchariſt in one kind only, in allowing private maſſes, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy[f]. Henry would by no means acknowledge any errors in theſe particulars; and was diſpleaſed that they ſhould pretend to prescribe rules to ſo great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and ſyllogiſms enow to defend his cauſe; and he diſmiſſed the ambaſſador without coming to any concluſion. Jealous alſo leſt his own ſubjects ſhould become ſuch theologians as to queſtion his tenets, he uſed great pretaution in publiſhing that tranſlation of the ſcripture which was finiſhed this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be depoſited in ſome pariſh churches, where it was fixed by a chain: And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the "effect of his duty, but of his goodneſs and his libe-"rality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it mode-"rately, for the encreaſe of virtue, not of ſtrife: And "he ordered that no man ſhould read the Bible a-"loud, ſo as to diſturb the prieſt while he ſang maſs, "not preſume to expound doubtful places, without "advice from the learned." In this meaſure, as in the reſt, he ſtill halted half way between the Catholics and the Proteſtants.

CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

There was only one particular in which Henry was quite deciſive; becauſe he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly ſpeaking, his rapacity, the conſequence of his profuſion: This meaſure was the entire deſtruction of the monaſteries. The preſent opportunity ſeemed favourable for that great enterprize,

Suppreſſion of the greater monaſteries.

[f] Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. from the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

terprize, while the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion fortified and encreaſed the royal authority; and as ſome of the abbots were ſuſpected of having encouraged the inſurrection, and of correſponding with the rebels, the king's reſentment was farther incited by that motive. A new viſitation was appointed of all the monaſteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their ſuppreſſion, it was eaſy for a prince, poſſeſſed of ſuch unlimited power, and ſeconding the preſent humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were expoſed; and having learned, by the example of the leſſer monaſteries, that nothing could withſtand the king's will, they were moſt of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary reſignation of their houſes. Where promiſes failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as ſeveral of the abbots, ſince the breach with Rome, had been named by the court, with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more eaſily effected. Some alſo, having ſecretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the deſign was conducted with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in leſs than two years, the king had got poſſeſſion of all the monaſtic revenues.

In ſeveral places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great intereſt was made to preſerve ſome convents of women, who, as they lived in the moſt irreproachable manner, juſtly merited, it was thought, that their houſes ſhould be ſaved from the general deſtruction[h]. There appeared alſo great difference between the caſe of nuns and that of friars; and the one inſtitution might be laudable, while the other was expoſed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with induſtry, might be of ſervice to the public;

h Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

lic; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of a family, who failed of a settlement in the married state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled: and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought, that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them, of any kind, were allowed to subsist in the kingdom. CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention, on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin shown in eleven several places; two or three heads of St Ursula; the salt of St Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; some reliques, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion.

CHAP. XXXI. 1532.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Glocester, there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial [i].

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St Paul's cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was also brought to London, and cut in pieces: And by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forest [k], who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St Andrew, covered with a thin

i Herbert, p. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575.
k Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

CHAP. XXIII. 1538.

ble plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor, on account of his pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also, the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a-year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six-pence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and six-pence; at St Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year, the disproportion was still greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence[1]. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 244.

CHAP. XXIII. 1538.

jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident, how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine, dedicated to St Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: He ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king, at different times, suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries: Of which twenty-eight had abbots, that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds [m]. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had, a little before this period, been rated at four millions a-year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired [n].

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned, whether priors or monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary,

m Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed.
n See note [I] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

ery, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told, that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government [o]. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures [p]: He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding, which happened to gratify his palate [q]. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: He erected six new bishopricks, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day: And, by all these means of expence and dissipation, the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands, fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not, in these respects, any proportion to those of the lesser.

Besides the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of the laymen:

o Coke's 4th Inst. fol. 44.
p Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 800.
q Fuller.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1538.

An abuse which many zealous churchmen regard as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, which possessed 744 pounds a-year, though it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furnese, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a-year, and contained about thirty [1]. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and, besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high-sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull, which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side: He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open hostility with

[1] Burnet, vol. i, p. 237.

with heaven; and had engaged in profeſſed enmity with the whole hoſt of ſaints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his reſemblance to the emperor Julian, whom, it was ſaid, he imitated in his apoſtacy and learning, though he fell ſhort of him in morals. Henry could diſtinguiſh, in ſome of theſe libels, the ſtile and animoſity of his kinſman, Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage, by every poſſible expedient, on that famous cardinal. CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was deſcended from the royal family, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius, and generous diſpoſition, by which, during his whole life, he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed; and Henry, having conceived great friendſhip for him, intended to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanry of Exeter[1], the better to ſupport him in his education. Pole was carrying on his ſtudies in the univerſity of Paris at the time when the king ſolicited the ſuffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but, though applied to by the Engliſh agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendſhip with a perſon whoſe virtues and talents, he hoped, would prove uſeful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him ſtill to poſſeſs his deanry, and gave him permiſſion to finiſh his ſtudies at Padua: He even paid him ſome court, in order to bring him into his meaſures; and wrote to him, while in that univerſity, deſiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late meaſures taken in England for aboliſhing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted Cardinal Pole.

[1] Goodwin's Annals.

CHAP. XXXII. 1538.

contracted an intimate friendſhip with all perſons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taſte and learning; and he was moved by theſe connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget, in ſome reſpect, the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his ſovereign. He replied, by writing a treatiſe of *the unity of the church*, in which he inveighed againſt the king's ſupremacy, his divorce, his ſecond marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the Catholic cauſe. Henry, though provoked beyond meaſure at this outrage, diſſembled his reſentment; and he ſent a meſſage to Pole, deſiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain paſſages in his book, which he found ſomewhat obſcure and difficult. Pole was on his guard againſt this inſidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was univerſally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themſelves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who, in ſupport of their cauſe, had ſacrificed all his pretenſions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than thoſe of a deacon, he was ſent legate into Flanders about the year 1536[t]. Henry was ſenſible, that Pole's chief intention in chuſing that employment was to foment the mutinous diſpoſition of the Engliſh Catholics; and he therefore remonſtrated in ſo vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that ſhe diſmiſſed the legate, without allowing him to exerciſe his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther meaſures in his intrigues againſt Henry. He is even ſuſpected of having aſpired to the crown, by

[t] Herbert.

by means of a marriage with the Lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received, of the correſpondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conſpiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the Lord Abergavenny; Sir Nicholas Carew, maſter of horſe, and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. Theſe perſons were indicted, and tried, and convicted, before lord Audley, who preſided in the trial as high ſteward: They were all executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having firſt carried to the king ſecret intelligence of the conſpiracy. We know little concerning the juſtice or iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt theſe men: We only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time proſecuted by the court forms no preſumption of his guilt; though, as no hiſtorian of credit mentions, in the preſent caſe, any complaint occaſioned by theſe trials, we may preſume that ſufficient evidence was produced againſt the marquis of Exeter and his aſſociates [p].

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[p] Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Diſputation with Lambert——A parliament——Law of the ſix articles——Proclamations made equal to laws——Settlement of the ſucceſſion——King's projects of marriage——He marries Anne of Cleves——He diſlikes her——A parliament——Fall of Cromwell——His execution——King's divorce from Anne of Cleves——His marriage with Catherine Howard——State of affairs in Scotland——Diſcovery of the queen's diſſolute life——A parliament——Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

CHAP. XXXII.

1538. THE rough hand of Henry ſeemed well adapted for rending aſunder thoſe bands by which the ancient ſuperſtition had faſtened itſelf on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's ſupremacy, and ſuppreſſing monaſteries, moſt of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would ſtop at thoſe innovations. The ſpirit of oppoſition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmoſt extremities againſt the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war againſt the whole doctrine and worſhip, as well as diſcipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was ſummoned to meet at Mantua, he previouſly renounced all ſubmiſſion to it, as ſummoned by the pope, and lying entirely under ſubjection to that ſpiritual uſurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpoſe; and he had preſcribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of

of every opportunity to carry him on in this courſe; and while Queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her inſinuation and addreſs, been ſucceſsful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embaſſy to France, kept the king more in ſuſpence; and, by feigning an unlimited ſubmiſſion to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purpoſes. Fox, biſhop of Hereford, had ſupported Cranmer in his ſchemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto ſeemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to ſacrifice every thing to preſent intereſt, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partizans of the old religion. Gardiner himſelf, it is believed, had ſecretly entered into meaſures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and, in concert with theſe powers, he endeavoured to preſerve, as much as poſſible, the ancient faith and worſhip. CHAP. XXXII. 1538.

Henry was ſo much governed by paſſion, that nothing could have retarded his animoſity and oppoſition againſt Rome, but ſome other paſſion which ſtopped his career, and raiſed him new objects of animoſity. Though he had gradually, ſince the commencement of his ſcruples with regard to his firſt marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological ſyſtem in which he had been educated, he was no leſs poſitive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unſhaken. And though he ſtood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had ſo inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himſelf entitled to regulate, by his own particular ſtandard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly reſted his orthodoxy happened to be the real preſence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberleſs victories of ſuperſtition over common ſenſe, her triumph is the moſt ſignal and egregious.

All

CHAP. XXXIII. 1538.

All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and deteſtable; and nothing, he thought, would be more honourable for him, than, while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiff, to maintain, in this eſſential article, the purity of the Catholic faith.

Diſputation with Lambert.

There was one Lambert [w], a ſchool-maſter in London, who had been queſtioned and confined for unſound opinions by Archbiſhop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counſels at court, he had been releaſed. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he ſtill continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr Taylor, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, defend in a ſermon the corporal preſence, he could not forbear expreſſing to Taylor his diſſent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten ſeveral heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in the ſacrament, yet the real body and blood of Chriſt were there alſo, and were, in a certain myſterious manner, incorporated with the material elements. By the preſent laws and practice, Barnes was no leſs expoſed to the ſtake than Lambert; yet ſuch was the perſecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign puniſhment; becauſe, in their common departure from the ancient faith, he had dared to go one ſtep farther than himſelf. He engaged Taylor to accuſe Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on theſe points, were obliged to conform themſelves to the ſtandard of orthodoxy eſtabliſhed by Henry. When Lambert was cited before theſe prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation;

[w] Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

castation; and they were surprised, when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

CHAP. XXXII. 1538.

The king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his supremacy and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with the school-master: Scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: The prelates were placed on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left: The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: And in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist [z].

The bishop of Chichester opened the conference by saying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: That, though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: And that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued

[z] Fox, vol. ii. p. 426.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1538.

tinued obſtinate in them, he muſt expect the moſt condign puniſhment [y].

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of Chriſt's corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with ſome compliment to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with diſdain and indignation. He afterwards preſſed Lambert with arguments drawn from ſcripture and the ſchoolmen: The audience applauded the force of his reaſoning, and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer ſeconded his proofs by ſome new topics: Gardiner entered the liſts as a ſupport to Cranmer: Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal: Six biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field after Stokeſley: And the diſputation, if it deſerves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abaſhed, was at laſt reduced to ſilence. The king, then returning to the charge, aſked him whether he were convinced? and he propoſed, as a concluding argument, this intereſting queſtion, Whether he were reſolved to live or to die? Lambert, who poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency: The king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and, therefore, if that were his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the ſentence againſt him [z].

Lambert, whoſe vanity had probably incited him the more to perſevere on account of the greatneſs of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the puniſhment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the ſufferings of

y Goodwin's Annals.

z See note [K] at the end of the volume.

a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: He was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired [a].

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Some few days before this execution, four Dutch Anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's Cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield [b].

1539.

It was the unhappy fate of the English, during this age, that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: On the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper, of themselves, to carry into execution. This abject servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament, which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion, ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

A parliament. 28th April.

The chancellor opened the parliament by informing the house of lords, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this under-

[a] Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 427. Burnet. [b] Stowe, p. 556.

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taking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to chuse a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwell, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken: This small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, that, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and, after a short prorogation, the bill of the *six articles*, or the bloody bill, as the Protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

Law of the six articles.

In this law, the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article, with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An unheard-of severity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: An obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment.

ment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony [c]. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king, for enquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury. CHAP. XXIII. 1539.

The king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the Catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy [d]: But as the Protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house: and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance [e]. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Osiander, a famous divine of Nuremberg [f]; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishopricks on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

c 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

d See note [L.] at the end of the volume.

e Burnet, vol. i. p. 249. 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037.

f Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

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1539. Proclamations made equal to laws.

The parliament, having thus reſigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire ſurrender of their civil; and without ſcruple or deliberation they made, by one act, a total ſubverſion of the Engliſh conſtitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the ſame force as to a ſtatute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worſe, if poſſible, they framed this law, as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly ſet forth ſeveral proclamations which froward perſons had wilfully contemned, not conſidering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licenſe might encourage offenders not only to diſobey the laws of Almighty God, but alſo to diſhonour the king's moſt royal majeſty, *who may full ill bear it*; that ſudden emergencies often occur, which require ſpeedy remedies, and cannot await the ſlow aſſembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered, by his authority, derived from God, to conſult the public good on theſe occaſions, yet the oppoſition of refractory ſubjects might puſh him to extremity and violence: For theſe reaſons, the parliament, that they might remove all occaſion of doubt, aſcertained by a ſtatute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majeſty, with the advice of his council, to ſet forth proclamations, enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he ſhould think proper: And theſe proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws[g].

What proves either a ſtupid or a wilful blindneſs in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after this ſtatute, to maintain ſome limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation ſhould deprive any perſon of his lawful poſſeſſions, liberties, inheritances,

[g] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

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ancis, privileges, franchiſes; nor yet infringe any common law, or laudable cuſtom of the realm. They did not conſider, that no penalty could be inflicted on the diſobeying of proclamations, without invading ſome liberty or property of the ſubject; and that the power of enacting new laws, joined to the diſpenſing power, then exerciſed by the crown, amounted to a full legiſlative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accuſtomed, from their own authority, to iſſue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a ſtrong ſymptom of abſolute government: But ſtill there was a difference between a power which was exerciſed on a particular emergence, and which muſt be juſtified by the preſent expedience or neceſſity; and an authority conferred by a poſitive ſtatute, which could no longer admit of controul or limitation.

Could any act be more oppoſite to the ſpirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the ſame parliament. They paſſed an act of attainder, not only againſt the Marquis of Exeter, the Lords Montacute, Darcy, Huſſey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but alſo againſt ſome perſons of the higheſt quality, who had never been accuſed, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to Cardinal Pole, had extended itſelf to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the counteſs of Saliſbury, had, on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was alſo accuſed of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new tranſlation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which, it is ſaid, had been ſeen at Coudray, her country-ſeat; and of having kept a correſpondence with her ſon, the cardinal: But Henry found, either that theſe offences could not be pro-

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ved, or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical manner; and, for that purpose, he sent Cromwell, who was but too obsequious to his will, to ask the judges, whether the parliament could attaint a person who was forthcoming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them [h]? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice: No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, that, if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwell showed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house [i]. No other proof seems to have been produced, in order to ascertain her guilt: The parliament, without farther enquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: The marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess received a reprieve.

The

h Coke's 4th Inst. p. 37, 38.

i Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 652.

The only beneficial act passed this session, was that by which the parliament confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to surrender their monasteries had been conducted, as may easily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances: Arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive that could work on the frailty of human nature had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to make a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interest, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself [k]. Three abbots had shown more constancy than the rest, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastenbury; and, in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited [l]. Besides, though none of these violences had taken place, the king knew, that a surrender made by men, who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and "according to due course of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirm the surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever [m]. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers;

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k Collier, vol. ii. p. 158. & seq.
l 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.
m 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

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and that none of them made any proteſts againſt this injurious ſtatute.

In this ſeſſion, the rank of all the great officers of ſtate was fixed: Cromwell, as vicegerent, had the precedency aſſigned him above all of them. It was thought ſingular, that a blackſmith's ſon, for he was no other, ſhould have place next the royal family; and that a man, poſſeſſed of no manner of literature, ſhould be ſet at the head of the church.

As ſoon as the act of the ſix articles had paſſed, the Catholics were extremely vigilant in informing againſt offenders; and no leſs than five hundred perſons were in a little time thrown into priſon. But Cromwell, who had not had intereſt to prevent that act, was able, for the preſent, to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk, and Chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonſtrated againſt the cruelty of puniſhing ſo many delinquents; and he obtained permiſſion to ſet them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in his turn. No ſooner had Henry paſſed this law, which ſeemed to inflict ſo deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permiſſion for every one to have the new tranſlation of the Bible in his family: A conceſſion regarded by that party as an important victory.

Henry's projects of marriage.

But as Henry was obſerved to be much governed by his wives, while he retained his fondneſs for them, the final prevalence of either party ſeemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the moſt beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He firſt caſt his eye towards the ducheſs dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made propoſals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was carried, by his friendſhip for Francis,

Francis, rather to think of a French princeſs. He demanded the ducheſs dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guiſe, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refuſal: He had ſet his heart extremely on the match: The information which he had received of the ducheſs's accompliſhments and beauty had prepoſſeſſed him in her favour; and having privately ſent over Meautys to examine her perſon, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him ſerved farther to inflame his deſires. He learned that ſhe was big made; and he thought her, on that account, the more proper match for him, who was now become ſomewhat corpulent. The pleaſure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his proſecution of this match; and he inſiſted that Francis ſhould give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though ſenſible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his intereſts, would not affront his friend and ally; and, to prevent farther ſolicitation, he immediately ſent the princeſs to Scotland. Not to ſhock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princeſs, he would not hear any farther of ſuch a propoſal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger ſiſters of the queen of Scots; and he aſſured him that they were nowiſe inferior, either in merit or ſize, to their elder ſiſter, and that one of them was even ſuperior in beauty. The king was as ſcrupulous with regard to the perſon of his wives, as if his heart had been really ſuſceptible of a delicate paſſion; and he was unwilling to truſt any relations, or even pictures, with regard

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regard to this important particular. He propoſed to Francis, that they ſhould have a conference at Calais, on pretence of buſineſs; and that this monarch ſhould bring along with him the two princeſſes of Guiſe, together with the fineſt ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant ſpirit of Francis was ſhocked with the propoſal: He was impreſſed with too much regard, he ſaid, for the fair ſex, to carry ladies of the firſt quality, like geldings, to a market, there to be choſen or rejected by the humour of the purchaſer[n]. Henry would hearken to none of theſe nicetics, but ſtill inſiſted on his propoſal; which, however, notwithſtanding Francis's earneſt deſire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

The king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely diſguſted with the emperor on account of his perſecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himſelf into one of their families, to renew a connection which he regarded as ſo advantageous to him. Cromwell joyfully ſeconded this intention; and propoſed to him Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of that name, had great intereſt among the Lutheran princes, and whoſe ſiſter, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the Proteſtant league. A flattering picture of the princeſs, by Hans Holben, determined Henry to apply to her father; and, after ſome negociation, the marriage, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector of Saxony, was at laſt concluded; and Anne was ſent over to England. The king, impatient to be ſatisfied with regard to the perſon of his bride, came privately to Rocheſter, and got a ſight of her. He found her big, indeed, and tall, as he could wiſh; but utterly deſtitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and repreſentations which he had received:

He marries Anne of Cleves.

n Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

received: He ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders mare; and declared, that he never could poſſibly bear her any affection. The matter was worſe, when he found that ſhe could ſpeak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwell, as well as to Lord Ruſſel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This laſt gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private perſons, chuſe for themſelves; but muſt receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others. CHAP. XXXII. 1539. Diſlikes her.

It was the ſubject of debate among the king's counſellors, whether the marriage could not yet be diſſolved, and the princeſs be ſent back to her own country. Henry's ſituation ſeemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good underſtanding was thought to have taken place between theſe rival monarchs; and ſuch marks of union appeared, as gave great jealouſy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare, to that degree, among great princes. An inſurrection had been raiſed in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and ſeemed to threaten the moſt dangerous conſequences. Charles, who reſided at that time in Spain, reſolved to go in perſon to Flanders, in order to appeaſe thoſe diſorders; but he found great difficulties in chuſing the manner of his paſſing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the Channel dangerous, by reaſon of the Engliſh naval power: He aſked Francis's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions; and he entruſted himſelf

CHAP. XXXII. 1539. himself into the hands of a rival whom he had so mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not so much as speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

Henry, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England[o]. An alliance with the German princes seemed now, more than ever, requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew, that, if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwell, that, since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him, that he hated her worse than ever; and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach: He was resolved never to meddle with her; and even suspected her not to be a true maid: A point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

1540. 6 January.

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[o] Stowe, p. 579.

A ſeſſion of parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the houſe of peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diverſity of religions which ſtill prevailed among his ſubjects: A grievance, he affirmed, which ought the leſs to be endured, becauſe the Scriptures were now publiſhed in Engliſh, and ought univerſally to be the ſtandard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he ſaid, ſome biſhops and divines to draw up a liſt of tenets, to which his people were to aſſent; and he was determined that Chriſt, the doctrine of Chriſt, and the truth, ſhould have the victory. The king ſeems to have expected more effect in aſcertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had enſued from the publication of the Scriptures. Cromwell, as vicar-general, made alſo, in the king's name, a ſpeech to the upper houſe; and the peers, in return, beſtowed great flattery on him, and, in particular, ſaid that he was worthy, by his deſert, to be vicar-general of the univerſe. That miniſter ſeemed to be no leſs in his maſter's good graces: He received, ſoon after the ſitting of the parliament, the title of Earl of Eſſex, and was inſtalled Knight of the Garter.

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1540. 12 April. A parliament.

There remained only one religious order in England; the knights of St John of Jeruſalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly eccleſiaſtical, partly military, had, by their valour, done great ſervice to Chriſtendom; and had very much retarded, at Jeruſalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progreſs of the barbarians. During the general ſurrender of the religious houſes in England, they had exerted their ſpirit, and had obſtinately refuſed to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no ſociety that profeſſed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourſe to parliament for the diſſolution of this order. Their

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revenues were large, and formed an addition not to be contemptible to the many acquisitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church: His profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprised this session to find a demand made upon them of four-tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: So ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was the great expence which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

The king's favour to Cromwell, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: His aversion to the queen secretly encreased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of

Fall of Cromwell.

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the crown: Beſides enjoying that commiſſion which gave him a high, and almoſt abſolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy ſeal, chamberlain, and maſter of the wards: He had alſo obtained the order of the Garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illuſtrious families, and which ſeemed to be profaned by its being communicated to ſo mean a perſon. The people were averſe to him, as the ſuppoſed author of the violence on the monaſteries; eſtabliſhments which were ſtill revered and beloved by the commonalty. The Catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: The Proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands ariſen againſt the adminiſtration, was not diſpleaſed to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and he hoped, by making ſo eaſy a ſacrifice, to regain the affections of his ſubjects.

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But there was another cauſe which ſuddenly ſet all theſe motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the miniſtry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new paſſion, he could find no expedient, but by procuring a divorce from his preſent conſort, to raiſe Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwell, made the ſame uſe of her inſinuations to ruin this miniſter, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's againſt Wolſey: And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commiſſion from the king to arreſt Cromwell at the council-table, on an accuſation of high treaſon, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after,

CHAP. XXIII. 1540.

after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous[p]. The only circumstance of his conduct by which he seems to have merited this fate, was his being the instrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills, in the preceding session, against the countess of Salisbury and others.

Cromwell endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but all to no purpose: it was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwell's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woeful prisoner, am ready "to submit to death when it shall please God and your "majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to "your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. "Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and "trembling hand of your highness's most miserable "prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mer-"cy, mercy, mercy[q]." When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would

28th July. His execution.

[p] Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

[q] Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master, and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwell, in his grandeur, happened, at London, to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty, by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance, reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence [r].

CHAP. XXXIII. 1540.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by consent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce: and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these

King's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

[r] Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

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these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: The parliament ratified the decision of the clergy [s]; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess.

Anne was blessed with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a-year upon her; she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce [t]. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead), that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

Notwithstanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles, had subsisted during a very short time: The dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped that

[s] See note [M] at the end of the volume. [t] Herbert, p. 458, 459.

that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might CHAP. XXXII. 1540.
exclude every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negociations with Sultan Solyman and the Venetians; he also laid open the solicitations which he had received from the court of England, to enter into a confederacy against him [a]. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese: He informed Solyman, and the senate of Venice, of the treatment which they had received from their ally: and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed such important obligations, and had sacrificed him to a new confederate: He even poisoned and misrepresented many things, which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generosity, this incident alone had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor: And as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

The new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs was extremely agreeable to his Catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwell, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonist. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a favourable

8th Aug. His marriage with Catherine Howard.

incident

[a] Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

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incident to their party; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's council being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the Protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill, which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said, that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch, who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing [w].

While Henry was exerting this violence against the Protestants, he spared not the Catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged [x]. The king even displayed, in an ostentatious manner, this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a Catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These Catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who declared, that the most grievous

[w] Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox. [x] Fox, vol. ii. p. 529.

was part of their punishment was the being coupled CHAP. XXXIII.
to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them[y].

Though the spirit of the English seemed to be totally sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: An inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of Cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended[z]. She refused to lay her head on the block, or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that, if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: And thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck, before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason, soon after the countess of Salisbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his prosecution.

1540.

27th May.

The insurrection in the north engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which those

y Saunders, de Schism. Angl. z Herbert, p. 463.

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parts were much addicted. He had alſo another motive for this journey: He purpoſed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if poſſible, to cement a cloſe and indiſſoluble union with that kingdom.

State of affairs in Scotland.

The ſame ſpirit of religious innovation, which had ſeized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the ſame jealouſies, fears, and perſecutions. About the year 1527, Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was ſent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with ſome reformers, and he returned into his own country very ill-diſpoſed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the higheſt dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impoſſible for him to conceal his ſentiments; and Campbell, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendſhip and a ſympathy in opinion, had inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, accuſed him before Beaton, archbiſhop of St Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St Andrews, in order to maintain, with ſome of the clergy, a diſpute concerning the controverted points; and after much reaſoning with regard to juſtification, free-will, original ſin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the inſinuations of ambition, was leſs likely to be ſhaken with the fears of death; while he propoſed to himſelf, both the glory of bearing teſtimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compaſſionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the conſtancy of his end; and an incident, which ſoon followed, ſtill more confirmed them in their favourable ſentiments towards him. He had cited Campbell, who ſtill inſulted him at the ſtake,

CHAP. XXXII. 1541.

ſtake, to anſwer before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt; and as that perſecutor, either aſtoniſhed with theſe events, or overcome with remorſe, or, perhaps, ſeized really with a diſtemper, ſoon after loſt his ſenſes, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet, as well as a martyr [a].

Among the diſciples converted by Hamilton, was one Friar Forreſt, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly diſcover his ſentiments, was ſuſpected to lean towards the new opinions. His dioceſan, the biſhop of Dunkeld, enjoined him, when he met with a good epiſtle or good goſpel, which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the reſt alone. Forreſt replied, that he had read both Old and New Teſtament, and had not found an ill epiſtle, or ill goſpel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the Scriptures was regarded in thoſe days as a ſure characteriſtic of hereſy; and Forreſt was ſoon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the prieſts were deliberating on the place of his execution, a byſtander adviſed them to burn him in a cellar; for that the ſmoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton had infected all thoſe on whom it blew [b].

The clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total ſubverſion of ancient eſtabliſhments, which they repreſented as idolatrous, impious, deteſtable; the prieſts, who found both their honours and properties at ſtake, thought that they had a right to reſiſt, by every expedient, theſe dangerous invaders, and that the ſame ſimple principles of equity, which juſtified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of ſuch heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to eccleſiaſtics, might, they ſaid, be admitted in other

 caſes;

[a] Spotſwood's Hiſt. church of Scotland, p. 62. [b] Spotſwood, p. 65.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.

cases; but seemed an absurdity, where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possessions, and even the existence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution, they found the success of this remedy very precarious, and observed, that the enthusiastic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, secretly spread itself every where; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolution in religion.

But, the most dangerous symptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been swayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the same fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and, being moved both by the pride of making proselytes, and the prospect of security, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promise to that purpose.

The ecclesiastics were alarmed at this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient, in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations

derations they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: They offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds: They promised him that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: And they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a-year to the crown revenues [c]. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged, first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview [d].

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Henry, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began by permitting piracies at sea, and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received, soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always shewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: The agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But

[c] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitscotie, ibid. Knox.

[d] Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw, by the titles, that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: Adding, it was better he should destroy them, than they him. See Epist. Reginald. Pole. pars 1. p. 172.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1541. Discovery of the queen's ancient life.

But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: One Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the duchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the Chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the Privy-seal, to Lord Russel, high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: The Privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman at that time resided: He found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested

CHAP. XXVIII. 1542.

pelled at the ſame time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confeſſion; and diſcovered other particulars, which redounded ſtill more to her diſhonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets, and ſome of them had even paſſed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was ſo deeply affected, that he remained a long time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. He found, to his ſurpriſe, that his great ſkill in diſtinguiſhing a true maid, of which he boaſted in the caſe of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his preſent conſort. The queen, being next queſtioned, denied her guilt; but, when informed that a full diſcovery was made, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been criminal before marriage; and only inſiſted that ſhe had never been falſe to the king's bed. But, as there was evidence that one Colepepper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage; and as it appeared that ſhe had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her ſervice, ſhe ſeemed to deſerve little credit in this aſſeveration; and the king, beſides, was not of a humour to make any difference between theſe degrees of guilt.

Henry found that he could not, by any means, ſo fully or expeditiouſly ſatiate his vengeance on all theſe criminals, as by aſſembling a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny. The two houſes, having received the queen's confeſſion, made an addreſs to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were ſubject; but to conſider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from theſe views to derive a ſubject of conſolation. They deſired leave to paſs a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which would renew his

1542. 6th Jan.

CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And as there was a law in force, making it treaſon to ſpeak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them ſhould, on the preſent occaſion, have tranſgreſſed any part of the ſtatute.

Having obtained a gracious anſwer to theſe requeſts, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treaſon againſt the queen, and the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this bill, Colepepper and Derham were alſo comprehended. At the ſame time they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old ducheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle, Lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine perſons more; becauſe they knew they queen's vicious courſe of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's uſual extravagance, to expect that parents ſhould ſo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the ſentiments of ſhame and decency, as to reveal to him the moſt ſecret diſorders of their family. He himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of the cruelty of this proceeding: For he pardoned the ducheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon.

However, to ſecure himſelf for the future, as well as his ſucceſſors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to paſs a law ſomewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, that any one who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, might, within twenty days, diſcloſe it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law, againſt defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one, at the ſame time, from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others: It was

alſo

also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular clause, and said that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute [e]. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with Lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and as Lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable sentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen. CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

The king made no demand of any subsidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: He took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors, to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: It had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president, or any number of fellows, could consent to such a deed, without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites [f]. The church had been so long their prey, that no body was surprised at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.

[f] See note [N] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. X. HENRY VIII. 1540.

furrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pilloged the ſees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy paraſites and flatterers with their ſpoils.

Eccleſiaſtic affairs.

The clergy have been commonly ſo fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal intereſts go hand in hand with a jealouſy for orthodoxy; and both theſe paſſions be regarded by the people, ignorant and ſuperſtitious, as proofs of zeal for religion: But the violent and headſtrong character of Henry now diſjoined theſe objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by perſecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the ſix articles, ſo far as regards the marriage of prieſts, which was now only ſubjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattles, and lands, during life; he was ſtill equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in ſpeculative principles. He had appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of the two archbiſhops and ſeveral biſhops of both provinces, together with a conſiderable number of doctors of divinity; and, by virtue of his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, he had given them in charge to chuſe a religion for his people. Before the commiſſioners had made any progreſs in this arduous undertaking, the parliament, in 1541, had paſſed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which theſe divines ſhould thereafter eſtabliſh with the king's conſent: And they were not aſhamed of thus expreſsly declaring that they took their religion upon truſt, and had no other rule, in ſpiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their maſter. There is only one clauſe of the ſtatute which may ſeem, at firſt ſight, to favour ſomewhat of the ſpirit of liberty: It was enacted, that the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners ſhould eſtabliſh nothing repugnant to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm. But, in reality, this proviſo was inſerted by

by the king, to ſerve his own purpoſes. By introducing a confuſion and contradiction into the laws, he became more maſter of every one's life and property. And, as the ancient independence of the church ſtill gave him jealouſy, he was well pleaſed, under cover of ſuch a clauſe, to introduce appeals from the ſpiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reaſon, that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occaſions to interpoſe in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at firſt invented for arbitrary purpoſes! CHAP. XXVIII. 1543.

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that ſpiritual ſupremacy, which he believed inherent in him, employed his commiſſioners to ſelect a ſyſtem of tenets for the aſſent and belief of the nation. A ſmall volume was ſoon after publiſhed, called the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the ſtandard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of juſtification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: The ſacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now encreaſed to the number of ſeven, conformable to the ſentiments of the Catholics. The king's caprice is diſcernable throughout the whole; and the book is, in reality, to be regarded as his compoſition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himſelf had formerly eſtabliſhed.

The people had occaſion, ſoon after, to ſee a farther inſtance of the king's inconſtancy. He was not long ſatisfied with his Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man: He ordered a new book to be compoſed, called the *Erudition*

CHAP. XXVIII. 1543.

Erudition of a Chriſtian Man; and, without aſking the aſſent of the convocation, he publiſhed, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Inſtitution[g]; but the king was no leſs poſitive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his ſignal. In both theſe compoſitions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was ſpreading his own books among the people, he ſeems to have been extremely perplexed, as were alſo the clergy, what courſe to take with the Scriptures. A review had been made by the ſynod, of the new tranſlation of the Bible; and Gardiner had propoſed, that, inſtead of employing Engliſh expreſſions throughout, ſeveral Latin words ſhould ſtill be preſerved; becauſe they contained, as he pretended, ſuch peculiar energy and ſignificance, that they had no correſpondent terms in the vulgar tongue[h]. Among theſe were *eccleſia, pœnitentia, pontifex, contritus, holocauſta, ſacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, myſterium, preſbyter, ſacrificium, humilitas, ſatisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hoſtia, charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpoſe than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the propoſal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at leaſt their diſputative turn, ſeemed to be an inconvenience ſtill more dangerous; and the king and parliament[i], ſoon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the conceſſion which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from peruſing them[k]. Even that liberty was not granted, without an apparent

1 heſitation,

g Collier, vol. ii. p. 190.
h Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.
i Which met on the 22d of January, 1543.
k 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not at

CHAP. XXVIII. 1544

ſedition, and a dread of the conſequences: Theſe perſons were allowed to read, *ſo it be done quietly and with good order*. And the preamble to the act ſets forth, "that many ſeditious and ignorant perſons "had abuſed the liberty granted them of reading the "Bible, and that great diverſity of opinion, animo-"ſities, tumults, and ſchiſms had been occaſioned by "perverting the ſenſe of the Scriptures." It ſeemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity with the permiſſion of free enquiry.

The maſs-book alſo paſſed under the king's reviſal; and little alteration was as yet made in it: Some doubtful or fictitious ſaints only were ſtruck out; and the name of the pope was erazed. This latter precaution was likewiſe uſed with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was ſold. The word, Pope, was carefully omitted or blotted out[l]; as if that precaution could aboliſh the term from the language, or as if ſuch a perſecution of it did not rather imprint it more ſtrongly in the memory of the people.

The king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuſe which had creeped into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in deriſion of the former ſuperſtitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worſhip was thereby gradually effaced[m]. We do not hear that the Catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this powerful engine againſt their adverſaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expoſe that fanatical ſpirit, by which, it appears, the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not diſpoſed to reliſh a jeſt on that ſide:

at that time, have much effect in England, where ſo few perſons had learned to read. There were but 500 copies printed of this firſt authoriſed edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now ſeveral millions of copies in the kingdom.

l Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 113.

m Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

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Perhaps the greater ſimplicity and the more ſpiritual abſtract worſhip of the Proteſtants, gave leſs hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on ſenſible repreſentations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable conceſſion, which the king made to the Catholic party, to ſuppreſs entirely theſe religious comedies.

Thus Henry laboured inceſſantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal ſtatutes, to bring his ſubjects to an uniformity in their religious ſentiments: But as he entered, himſelf, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, into all thoſe ſcholaſtic diſputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however preſent fear might reſtrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any ſet of tenets or opinions preſcribed to them.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

War with Scotland——Victory of Solway——Death of James V.——Treaty with Scotland——New rupture——Rupture with Francis——A Parliament——Affairs of Scotland——A Parliament——Campaign in France——A Parliament——Peace with France and Scotland——Perſecutions——Execution of the earl of Surrey——Attainder of the duke of Norfolk——Death of the king——His character——Miſcellaneous tranſactions.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1542. War with Scotland.

HENRY, being determined to avenge himſelf on the king of Scots, for ſlighting the advances which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a ſupply from parliament, in order to proſecute that enterprize; but as he did not think it prudent to diſcover his intentions, that aſſembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would underſtand no hints; and the king was diſappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as ſoon as he thought himſelf in a condition to invade Scotland, he publiſhed a manifeſto, by which he endeavoured to juſtify hoſtilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promiſed interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel[n]: But in order to give a more ſpecious colouring to the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to ſome Engliſh rebels and fugitives, and had detained ſome territory, which Henry pretended belonged to England.

[n] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the Fifth.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1542.

He even revived the old claim to the vaſſalage of Scotland, and he ſummoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and ſuperior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the ſcourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James ſent the biſhop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont of Darſay, to appeaſe his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was aſſembling his army at Newcaſtle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incurſion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and deſtroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who had been many years baniſhed their country, and had ſubſiſted by Henry's bounty, joined the Engliſh army in this incurſion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thouſand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had poſted a conſiderable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vaſſals, was haſtening to join Huntley, when he met with the Engliſh army; and an action immediately enſued. During the engagement, the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the Engliſh, afraid of being ſurrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners. A few only of ſmall note fell in the ſkirmiſh[o].

24th Aug.

The duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcaſtle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thouſand men; and it required the utmoſt

[o] Buchanan, lib. 14.

last efforts of Scotland to reſiſt ſuch a formidable ar- CHAP. XXXIII.
mament. James had aſſembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as ſoon as he ſhould be informed of Norfolk's invaſion of his kingdom. The Engliſh paſſed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thouſand men, they repaſſed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country [p]. The king of Scots, inflamed with a deſire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was ſurpriſed to find, that his nobility, who were in general diſaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, oppoſed this reſolution, and refuſed to attend him in his projected enterprize. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but ſtill reſolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemy. He ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſguſted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles, he ſent a meſſage to the army, depriving Lord Maxwell, their general, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely diſguſted with this alteration, and was ready to diſband; when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, for it was no action; but a great many were taken priſoners, and ſome of the principal nobility: Among theſe,

1542.

24th Nov. Victory at Solway.

[p] Buchanan, lib. 14.

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these, the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.

The king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who, he believed, had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and, hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked, Whether she had brought him a male or female child? Being told the latter; he turned himself in his bed: "The "crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will "go with one: Many miseries await this poor king-"dom: Henry will make it his own either by force "of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of considerable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom, during that age, was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The Protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him [q].

14th Dec. Death of James the Fifth.

Henry

q See note [O] at the end of the volume.

Henry was no sooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son, Edward, to the heiress of that kingdom [r]. He called together the Scottish nobles, who were his prisoners; and after reproaching them, in severe terms, for their premeditated breach of treaty, he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which, he hoped, those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would, for the future, be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty, without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal, which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed: And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion. CHAP. XXVIII. 1543.

The pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton, the primate, the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences, both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and, for that purpose, he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents

[r] Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan.

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of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess[s]: At least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation[t]. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

James earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III.; and, on that account, seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partizans; and, though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity which he had discovered for the new opinions had attached to him all the zealous promoters of those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under

[s] Sadler's letters, p. 161. Spotswood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15.

[t] John Knox, History of the Reformation.

under the care of lord Seton; and a negociation was CHAP. XXXIII.
commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English am-
bassador, for the marriage of the infant-queen with 1543.
the prince of Wales. The following conditions were Treaty with Scotland.
readily agreed on; that the queen should remain in
Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she
should then be sent to England to be educated; that
six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered
as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, not-
withstanding its union with England, should still re-
tain its laws and privileges [v]. By means of these e-
quitable conditions, the war between the nations,
which had threatened Scotland with such dismal cala-
mities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be chan-
ged into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Se-
ton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his in-
trigues, to confound all these measures, which ap-
peared so well concerted. He assembled the most
considerable ecclesiastics; and, having represented to
them the imminent danger to which their revenues
and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to
collect privately from the clergy a large sum of mo-
ney, by which, if entrusted to his management, he
engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies [w].
Besides the partizans whom he acquired by pecuniary
motives, he rouzed up the zeal of those who were
attached to the Catholic worship; and he represent-
ed the union with England as the sure forerunner of
ruin to the church, and to the ancient religion. The
national antipathy of the Scots to their southern
neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the
cardinal wrought upon the people; and, though the
terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to
make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to
the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits
of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those
measures.

[v] Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters. [w] Buchanan, lib. 15.

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measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: But Sadler prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hostages [x].

New rupture.

This behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw, that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally, during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resentment against Charles,

x Buchanan, lib. 15.

Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great, though fruitless efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother: And he promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. Arran, the governor, seeing all these preparations against him, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levingstones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midst of these transactions, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable [y].

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The opposition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues, excited his resentment, and farther confirmed the resolution, which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint against the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended, that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the see of Rome, and

Rupture with France.

[y] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1545.

and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that James, his nephew, had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges, which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England [z]. He had been informed of some railleries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted, that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained, that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: In case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge, for Henry, the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy, and some other territories [a]. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for

z Pere Daniel. a Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

the prejudice which Chriſtendom had ſuſtained c CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.
that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French
's refuſal, war was declared againſt him by the
. It may be proper to remark, that the par-
of France objected to Charles his alliance with
heretical king of England, as no leſs obnoxious
that which Francis had contracted with Soly-
: And they obſerved, that this league was a
ach of the ſolemn promiſe which he had given to
ement VII. never to make peace or alliance with
gland.

While the treaty with the emperor was negocia- 2nd Jan.
ing, the king ſummoned a new ſeſſion of parliament, A parlia-
ment.
in order to obtain ſupplies for his projected war with
ce. The parliament granted him a ſubſidy, to
paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar
ner; but exceeded not three ſhillings in the pound,
upon any individual [b]. The convocation gave the
g ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be levied in three
rs. Greater ſums were always, even during the
eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, exacted from
the clergy than from the laity: Which made the
Emperor Charles ſay, when Henry diſſolved the mo-
naſteries, and ſold their revenues, or beſtowed them
on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the
hen which brought him the golden eggs [c].

The parliament alſo facilitated the execution of
the former law, by which the king's proclamations
were made equal to ſtatutes: They appointed that
any nine counſellors ſhould form a legal court for
puniſhing all diſobedience to proclamations. The
total

[b] They who were worth in goods twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, ſixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two ſhillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty ſhillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, ſixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two ſhillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three ſhillings.

[c] Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

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total abolition of juries in criminal cauſes, as well as of all parliaments, ſeemed, if the king had ſo pleaſed, the neceſſary conſequence of this enormous law. He might iſſue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal ſtatute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the ſtatute, but for diſobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that Lord Mountjoy entered a proteſt againſt this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that proteſt is the only one entered againſt any public bill during this whole reign[d].

It was enacted[e] this ſeſſion, that any ſpiritual perſon who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the *Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he ſhould *thereafter* promulgate, was to be admitted on the firſt conviction to renounce his error; on the ſecond, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refuſed to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual impriſonment. Indictments muſt be laid within a year after the offence, and the priſoner was allowed to bring witneſſes for his exculpation. Theſe penalties were lighter than thoſe which were formerly impoſed on a denial of the real preſence: It was, however, ſubjoined in this ſtatute, that the act of the ſix articles was ſtill in force. But, in order to make the king more entirely maſter of his people, it was enacted, that he might hereafter, at his pleaſure, change this act, or any proviſion in it. By this clauſe, both parties were retained in ſubjection: So far as regarded religion, the king was inveſted, in the fulleſt manner, with the ſole legiſlative authority in his kingdom: And all his ſubjects were, under

[d] Burnet, p. 332.

[e] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

under the severest penalties, expressly bound to re- CHAP. XXVIII.
ceive implicitly whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them. 1543.

The reformers began to entertain hopes that this 12th July.
great power of the crown might still be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil Lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the Catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconsiderable, during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor[f]: Francis, in person, took the field early; and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole duchy of Luxembourg: He afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles, having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and, after taking almost every fortress in the duchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: But while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of some great event, the French king found means of throwing succour into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the season far advanced, despaired

[f] Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1543. Affairs of Scotland.

deprived of ſucceſs in his enterprize, and found it neceſſary to go into winter-quarters.

The vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great tranſactions on the continent: But the intereſts of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of ſo indolent and unambitious a character, that, had he not been ſtimulated by his friends and dependents, he never had aſpired to any ſhare in the adminiſtration; and when he found himſelf overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however diſhonourable. He even gave them a ſure pledge of his ſincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himſelf to the Romiſh communion in the Franciſcan church at Stirling. By this weakneſs and levity, he loſt his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the Proteſtants, who were hitherto the chief ſupport of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire aſcendant in the kingdom: The queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him: The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretenſion: Lenox alone was become an obſtacle to his meaſures, and reduced him to ſome difficulty.

The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the intereſts of theſe two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cauſe, had flattered him with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown after their infant ſovereign, this rivalſhip had tended ſtill farther to rouze the animoſity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aſpire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given

him

his former pretenſions to the regency; and as he was CHAP. XXXIII. 1543.
become aſſuming, on account of the ſervices which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found, that, ſince he muſt chuſe between the friendſhip of Lenox, and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more eaſily governed, and who was inveſted with preſent authority, was in every reſpect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to ſucceed in his pretenſions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the aſcendant, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion; he entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh court; and he ſummoned his vaſſals and partizans to attend him. All thoſe who were inclined to the Proteſtant religion, or were, on any account, diſcontented with the cardinal's adminiſtration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their ſervices. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thouſand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate deſtruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppoſe to him; but as he was a prudent man, he foreſaw that Lenox could not long ſubſiſt ſo great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negociation with him. He ſeduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglaſes to change party; he repreſented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: And Lenox, obſerving the unequal conteſt in which he was engaged, was at laſt obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Preſent peace was reſtored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his caſtles, and putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, waited the arrival of Engliſh ſuccours, from whoſe aſſiſtance alone he expected to obtain the ſuperiority over his enemies.

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1544. While the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed, such as he was pleased to dictate, with regard to the succession of the crown. After declaring, that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. This seemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable soever, without betraying, in some circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice: Though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foresee that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the passive instrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes which he was so bent to attain.

January 24. A parliament.

An act passed declaring, that the king's usual stile should be "King of England, France, and Ireland, "Defender of the Faith, and on earth the supreme "head of the church of England and Ireland." It seemed a palpable inconsistency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cause against Luther; and yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy, in opposition to the claims of that court.

An

An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will easily be believed, that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary[g]. But there was a peculiar circumstance, attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer. CHAP. XXXIII. 1544.

The oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one[h]. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The most commendable law, to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprized in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorised for the purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking, in his sermon, contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority, whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to ha-

g 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12. h 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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zard a refusal; he made no mention this season of a supply: But as his wars, both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: And he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation, was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London [i], a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was inrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition [k]. These powers of the prerogative, (which at that time passed unquestioned), the compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign, in a manner, absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

Early this year the king sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley Lord Lisle commanded the sea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without

i Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker, p. 292.

k Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 588.

out resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down, (for little or no resistance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and, being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar; then retreated into England, having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total servitude [l].

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Henry's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion, by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subduing their spirit; and it was commonly said, that he did too much, if he intended to solicit an alliance; and too little, if he meant a conquest [m]. But the reason of his recalling the troops so soon, was his eagerness to carry on a projected enterprize against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais, Charles from

[l] Rymer, vol. xv, p. 23. 29. [m] Herbert. Burnet.

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the Low Countries: They were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations much above forty thousand men.

24th July. Campaign in France.

Henry having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzallan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet Lord St John, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists.

The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to lose time, while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate. He next laid siege to St Disier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance, under the count of Sancerre, the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or, perhaps, foreseeing at last the dangerous conse-

quences

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ceſs of entirely ſubduing the French power, inſtead of marching forward to Paris, ſat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: The king himſelf that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who encouraged the garriſon to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity againſt the Engliſh. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town was immediately ſurrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this diſhonourable capitulation. 14th Sept.

During the courſe of this ſiege, Charles had taken St Diſier; and finding the ſeaſon much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, ſince all his ſchemes for ſubduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deſerting his ally, he ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the ſiege of Boulogne to raiſe it with honour, and that the emperor himſelf had firſt broken the concert by beſieging St Diſier. This anſwer ſerved Charles as a ſufficient reaſon for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He ſtipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, ſo advantageous to Francis, was procured, partly by the deciſive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialiſts at Ceriſolles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great deſire to turn his arms againſt the Proteſtant princes in Germa- 18th Sept.

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ny. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served, to the populace, as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprizes, made, at a great expence, an acquisition which was of no importance.

1544. 30th Sept.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now Lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor assembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no sooner opened his batteries before the place, than a sudden panic seized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English: but his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this success, boasted to Henry, that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important service. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty such acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike enemy, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next inroad made by the English, shewed the vanity of Evers's hopes.

1545. This general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale,

side, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him, that some Scottish forces appeared near the abbey of Melrose. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds near Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and, being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis, some time after, sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery, lord of Lorges [k]. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war

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17th Feb.

[k] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

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war on both sides was signalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either party.

The war likewise between France and England was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides gallies; and having embarked some land-forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England[1]. They sailed to the Isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor in St Helen's. It consisted not of above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought it most adviseable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the sinking of the Mary Rose, one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so great a fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he resolved to besiege; and, for that purpose, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time and money, the fort was found so ill constructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had assembled on that frontier an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprize. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who, having marched to Fleurines in the bishoprick of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions: They received intelligence of a superior army on

[1] Beleair. Memoires du Bellay.

on the ſide of France ready to intercept them: Want CHAP. XXXIII.
of occupation and of pay ſoon produced a mutiny a- 1545.
mong them: And having ſeized the Engliſh commiſ-
ſaries as a ſecurity for arrears, they retreated into
their own country. There ſeems to have been ſome
want of foreſight in this expenſive armament.

The great expence of theſe two wars, maintained by Henry, obliged him to ſummon a new parliament. The commons granted him a ſubſidy, payable in two years, of two ſhillings a pound on land[n]: The ſpirituality voted him ſix ſhillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehenſive leſt more demands ſhould be made upon them, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: By one vote they beſtowed on the king all the revenues of the univerſities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels[o], and hoſpitals. Henry was pleaſed with this conceſſion, as it encreaſed his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he ſoon took care to inform the univerſities, that he meant not to touch their renenues. Thus theſe ancient and celebrated eſtabliſhments owe their exiſtence to the generoſity of the king, not to the protection of this ſervile and proſtitute parliament. 23d Nov. A parliament.

The proſtitute ſpirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a ſtatute[p], in which they recognize

n Thoſe who poſſeſſed goods or money, above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound: Thoſe above ten pounds, a ſhilling.

o A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in ſome cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more prieſts, daily to ſay maſs, or perform divine ſervice, for the uſe of the founders, or ſuch others as they appointed: Free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the ſame purpoſe as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

p 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

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recognize the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England, and acknowledge, that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate. To him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sin whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have, not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, controul their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

24th Dec. The king made, in person, a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissentions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: That he had permitted his people the use of the Scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and instruct their children and families: That it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: And that he was sorry to observe that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice;

and

and that, though an imaginary knowledge ſo much abounded, charity was daily going to decay[q]. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging ſpeculation and diſpute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable ſubmiſſion of opinion which he recommended. CHAP. XXVIII. 1545.

Henry employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he ſent over the earl of Hertford, and Lord Liſle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thouſand men, two-thirds of which conſiſted of foreigners. Some ſkirmiſhes of ſmall moment enſued with the French; and no hopes of any conſiderable progreſs could be entertained by either party. Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was not violent, had given ſufficient vent to his humour by this ſhort war; and finding that, from his great increaſe in corpulence, and decay in ſtrength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was deſirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewiſe, on his part, was not averſe to peace with England; becauſe, having lately loſt his ſon, the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foreſaw that hoſtilities muſt ſoon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commiſſioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a ſmall place between Ardres and Guiſnes, the articles were ſoon agreed on, and the peace ſigned by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry ſhould retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis ſhould be paid. This debt was ſettled at two millions of livres, beſides a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjuſted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which coſt him above one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling[r], was 1546. 7th June. Peace with France and Scotland.

[q] Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534. [r] Herbert. Stowe.

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was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs; particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the Litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited a-new the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to save us *from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities*. Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor: But Gardiner having written to the king, that, if he carried his opposition against the Catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk: The queen-dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour, which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits of the deceased. He declared, that, during the whole course of their friendship,

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ship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. "Is there "any of you, my lords, who can say as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them[a].

Cranmer himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The Catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that, if his laudable zeal for inforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make enquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends from interested views, as well as the opposite party from animosity, began to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king,

[a] Coke's Inst. cap. 99.

CHAP. XXVIII. king, he reproved them in the severest terms; and told them, that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: But he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline, since gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: And Henry obliged them all to embrace him, as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances [t].

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Persecutions.

But though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty [u], who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of shewing indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more provoked, that a woman should dare to oppose his theological sentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity, rather than relinquish her

t Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranm.
u Bale, Speed, 780.

religious principles. She even wrote to the king, CHAP. XXVIII. 1546.
and told him, that, as to the Lord's Supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the Catholic church had required: But while she could not be brought to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor, Wriothesly, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the Catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: But she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors[w] add an extraordinary circumstance: That the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused compliance: The chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: Upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but imbittered with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislocated by the rack, that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. Together with her, were conducted Nicholas Belenian a priest, John Lassels of the king's household, and John Adams a tailor, who had been

[w] Hall, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 781. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesely's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

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condemned for the same crime, to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in this dreadful situation, the chancellor sent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would recant it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which consumed them. Wriothesely did not consider, that this public and noted situation interested their honour the more to maintain a steady perseverance.

Though the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue saved the queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked, that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glo-

rious

would the ſacrifice appear to poſterity. The CHAP. XXXIII.
chancellor, being conſulted, was engaged by religious 1546.
zeal to ſecond theſe topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his confeſſors, went ſo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt his conſort. Wriothesley executed his commands; and ſoon after brought the paper to him to be ſigned: For as it was high treaſon to throw ſlander upon the queen, he might otherwiſe have been queſtioned for his temerity. By ſome means, this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was ſenſible of the extreme danger to which ſhe was expoſed; but did not deſpair of being able, by her prudence and addreſs, ſtill to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her uſual viſit to the king, and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He entered on the ſubject which was ſo familiar to him; and he ſeemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the converſation; and remarked, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid, by their firſt creation, were made ſubject to men: The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: It belonged to the huſband to chuſe principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all caſes, to adopt implicitly the ſentiments of her huſband: And as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleſſed with a huſband, who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing of every nation. "Not ſo! by St Mary," replied the king, "you "are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted "to give than receive inſtruction." She meekly replied, that ſhe was ſenſible how little ſhe was entitled

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to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics, whence, she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, "sweetheart?" replied the king, "then are we "perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared, with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: She even overheard the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate, and then ordered him to depart his presence. She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: He said to her, "Poor soul! you know not how ill intitled this "man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion [x].

But

x Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 581.

But Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, burst out soon after to the destruction of a man, who possessed a much superior rank to that of a subject. The duke of Norfolk, and his father, during his whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom, and had rendered considerable service to the crown. The duke himself had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterprizes: He had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden: He had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the North: And he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions against France. Fortune seemed to conspire with his own industry, in raising him to the greatest elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the crown, he had acquired an immense estate: The king had successively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: Besides his descent from the ancient family of the Mowbrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended by a female from Edward III.: And as he was believed still to adhere secretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the Catholic party. But all these circumstances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy of Henry; and he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, both to the public tranquillity, and to the new ecclesiastical system, from the attempts of so potent a subject. But nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's displeasure, than the prejudices which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son of that nobleman.

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Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment,

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pliſhment, which became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He excelled in all the military exerciſes which were then in requeſt: He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: He had made ſome ſucceſsful attempts in poetry; and being ſmitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praiſes of his miſtreſs, by his pen and his lance, in every maſque and tournament. His ſpirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reſerve which his ſituation required. He had been left governor of Bologne, when that town was taken by Henry; but though his perſonal bravery was unqueſtioned, he had been unfortunate in ſome rencounters with the French. The king, ſomewhat diſpleaſed with his conduct, had ſent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was ſo imprudent as to drop ſome menacing expreſſions againſt the miniſters, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refuſed to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other propoſal of marriage, Henry imagined, that he had entertained views of eſpouſing the lady Mary; and he was inſtantly determined to repreſs, by the moſt ſevere expedients, ſo dangerous an ambition.

Actuated by all theſe motives, and perhaps influenced by that old diſguſt, with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inſpired him againſt her whole family, he gave private orders to arreſt Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the ſame day confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries ſeem ever to have given the leaſt attention to them in any cauſe of the crown, during this whole reign. He was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians who were *ſuſpected* to be ſpies; a

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Execution of the earl of Surrey.

ſervant

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...of his had paid a visit to Cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *suspected* of holding a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which made him be *suspected* of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

Attainder of the duke of Norfolk.

The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His duchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the design of the court: Yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime, than his once saying, that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: Soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He assembled a parliament, as the surest and most expeditous instrument of his tyranny; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would

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have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon[1]. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of Earl Marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower, that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought adviseable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days all those near him plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition; and as some persons, during this reign, had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death[2], every one was afraid, lest, in the transports of his fury, he might, on this pretence, punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for: But before the prelate

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 348, Fox.
[2] Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1541.

prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: He squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age. CHAP. XXVIII. 1547. Death of the king.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to Prince Edward, then to the Lady Mary, next to the Lady Elizabeth: The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister, the French queen; then on Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that, after the failure of the French queen's posterity, the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought, that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries, which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: He left,

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left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions, established by his ancestors and others, for the benefit of *their* souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith, which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care, at least, of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question [a].

His character.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: He was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by Lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute, uncontrouled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him, in some degree, to the appellation of a *great* prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a *good* one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: And though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts, and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man, who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who, in every controversy, was determined, either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: Violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he, at intervals, altogether

[a] See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, p. 110. There is no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

rather destitute of virtues: He was sincere, open, C. H. & P. XXXIII. 1547.
social, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light: The treatment, which he met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: The extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish, disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

It may seem a little extraordinary, that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects; but never was the object of their hatred: He seems even in some degree to have possessed, to the last, their love and affection [b]. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: His magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: And it may be said, with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that, like eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expence.

With regard to a foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with

[b] Strype, vol. i. p. 389.

CHAP. XXIII. 1546. with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealousy of the Emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light), served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: He foretold, that he should not long survive his friend[e]: And he died in about two months after him.

Miscellaneous transactions. There were ten parliaments summoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time, in which these parliaments sat during this long reign, exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently: But though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted submission to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-seats, produced a quick dispatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were, indeed, blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; insomuch that, had they been strictly executed, every man, without exception, must have fallen under

[e] *Le Thou.*

under the penalty of treason. By one statute[d], for CHAP. XXVIII.
instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity
of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Ar- mar-
ragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another[e], it was treason
to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the
princesses, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spu-
rious, would, no doubt, have been construed to their
slander. Nor would even a profound silence, with re-
gard to these delicate points, be able to save a person from
such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever
refused to answer upon oath to any point contained
in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason. The
king, therefore, needed only propose to any one a
question with regard to the legality of either of his
last marriages: If the person was silent, he was a
traitor by law: If he answered either in the negative
or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So
numerous were the inconsistencies which arose from
the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submis-
sion of his parliaments. It is hard to say, whether
these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitan-
cy, or to a formed design of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is
memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with
regard to government or commerce: Nothing can bet-
ter show the genius of the age than such a review of
the laws.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contri-
buted to the regular execution of justice. While the
Catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility
of punishing any crime in the clergy: The church
would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of
her members, and she could not herself inflict any ci-
vil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these
pernicious

[d] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. [e] 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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pernicious immunities: The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon[f]. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason[g]: Next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason[h]: And it limited them in other particulars[i]. The farther progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects; and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of some old laws, enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow[k]: Butts were ordered to be erected in every parish[l]: And every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wich, for the service of the common people[m]. The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited[n]. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled, upon occasion, to engage in close fight with the enemy[o]. Frequent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called[p]. The martial spirit of the English,

f 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
g 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
h 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
i 32 Hen. VIII. c. 14.
k 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
l Ibid.
m Ibid.
n 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
o Herbert.
p Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 515. Hollingshed, p. 947.

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this during that age, rendered this precaution, is not thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men [q]. Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to those troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first [r], Boulogne afterwards, served to encrease the number. Every one, who served abroad, was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees [s]. A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will [t]. The parliament was so little jealous of its privileges (which indeed were, at that time, scarcely worth preserving), that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwall: Heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: Yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paultry court, was to enact, that no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament [u]. This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: For as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.

There

q Hall, fol. 235. Hollingshed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577.
r Hall, fol. 68.
s 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15.
t 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c 5.
u 4 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

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There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which shews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the sovereign [w]. This duty had been voted to every king since Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: Yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments assembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last, the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but even in this concession, they plainly shew themselves at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himself to levy it. They say, that the imposition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king, and no longer: They yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the present king: They observe, that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no scruple to call that imposition the king's due: They affirm, that he had sustained great and manifold losses by those who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that supply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors, for more than a century, persevered in the like irregular practice: If a practice may deserve that epithet, in which the whole nation acquiesced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the same course, which had now received the sanction of many generations, so much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempest was excited by it; and historians, partial or ignorant, still represent this measure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

I The

[w] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

The king was allowed to make laws for Wales, without consent of parliament [x]. It was forgotten, that, with regard both to Wales and England, the legislation was abolished by the statute, which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws. CHAP. XXIII. 1543.

The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependence of those countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both, in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them [y]. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any sallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders [z]. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither

x 34 Hen. VIII. y Hall, folio 174. z Anderson, vol. i. p. 338.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1517. on purpose. The use of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

Foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: Hence the violent animosity which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants; and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened Cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees,

knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.
how to pardon; he diſmiſſed them without further puniſhment [a].

So great was the number of foreign artizans in the city, that at leaſt fifteen thouſand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for Queen Catherine [b]. Henry himſelf confeſſes, in an edict of the ſtar-chamber, printed among the ſtatutes, that the foreigners ſtarved the natives; and obliged them, from idleneſs, to have recourſe to theft, murder, and other enormities [c]. He alſo aſſerts, that the vaſt multitude of foreigners raiſed the price of grain and bread [d]. And to prevent an encreaſe of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their houſe, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealouſy aroſe againſt the foreign merchants; and, to appeaſe it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties impoſed upon aliens [e]. The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artizans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their ſkill. The priſoners in the kingdom, for debts and crimes, are aſſerted, in an act of parliament, to be ſixty thouſand perſons and above [f]; which is ſcarcely credible. Harriſon aſſerts that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount nearly to 2000 a-year. He adds, that, in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not puniſhed capitally 400 in a year: It appears that, in all England, there are not at preſent fifty executed for thoſe crimes. If theſe facts be juſt, there has been a great improve-

a Stowe, 505. Hollingſhed, 840.
b Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232.
c 21 Hen. VIII.
d Ibid.
e 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8.
f 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

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ment in morals since the reign of Henry VIII. And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts; which have given maintenance, and, what is almost of equal importance, occupation, to the lower classes.

There is a remarkable clause in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign[z], by which we might be induced to believe, that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magistrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep assize, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in wholesale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law seemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the assize: Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that "since the "making of that statute and ordinance, many and "the most part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns "corporate, within the realm of England, are fallen "in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by mer-"chants, and men of such substance as at the time "of making that statute: For at this day, the dwel-"lers and inhabitants of the same cities and boroughs "are commonly bakers, vintners, fishmongers, and "other victuallers, and there remain few others to "bear the offices." Men have such a propensity to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opposite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which

[z] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the encrease of riches, that the customs had encreased beyond what they were formerly [h]. CHAP. XXXIII. 1547.

But if there were really a decay of commerce and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and restoring holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted [i]: Luxury in apparel was prohibited, by repeated statutes [k]; and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter [l]. A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal [m]. Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound: Mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed [n].

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, still continued [o]; as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm-houses were allowed to fall to decay [p]. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock, was restrained to two thousand [q]. Sometimes, says the statute,

h Hall, folio 110.
i 4 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
k 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7.
l 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
m 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
n 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11.
o Strype, vol. i. p. 392.
p 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
q 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

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tute, one proprietor or farmer would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the encreasing price of mutton to this encrease of sheep: Because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure [q]. It is more probable, that the effect proceeded from the daily encrease of money: For it seems almost impossible, that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen-pence of our present money [r]. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: A presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants [s]; one of the circumstances in government, which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: And the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws,

q 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
r Anderson, vol. i. p. 374.
s 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general[t]. There remain ſtill too many traces of ſimilar abſurdities. In the ſubſequent reign, the corporations, which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradeſmen of different kinds, were again ſhut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exerciſing any trade who was not of the corporation[u].

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Henry, as he poſſeſſed himſelf ſome talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolſey founded Chriſt Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finiſhed his ſcheme, the king ſeized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that miniſter, is ſaid to have given him the greateſt concern[w]. But Henry afterwards reſtored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the firſt chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that univerſity into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The ſtudents divided themſelves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and ſometimes fought with as great animoſity as was formerly exerciſed by thoſe hoſtile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it alſo divided the Grecians themſelves into parties; and it was remarked that the Catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the Proteſtants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to ſuppreſs innovations in this particular, and to preſerve the corrupt ſound of the Greek alphabet. So little liberty

t 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24.

u 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20.

w Strype, vol. i. p. 117.

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was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pronunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that, rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better that the language itself were totally banished the universities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge [x]. Wolsey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manuscripts that were in the Vatican [y]. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge [z]. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.

x Wood's Hist. and Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245.

y Ibid. 249.

z Epist. ad Banisium. Also Epist. p. 368.

CHAP.

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EDWARD VI.

... regency——Innovations in the regency——... protector——Reformation completed——... ...——Foreign affairs——Progress ... reformation in Scotland——Affaſſination of ... Beaton——Conduct of the war with Scot... ——Battle of Pinkey——A parliament—— ... progreſs of the reformation——Affairs of ... ——Young queen of Scots ſent into France ... Cabals of Lord Seymour——Dudley earl of ... ——A parliament——Attainder of Lord ... ——His execution——Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547. State of the regency.

... late king, by the regulations which he im... poſed on the government of his infant ſon, as ... by the limitations of the ſucceſſion, had projected ... even after his deceaſe; and he imagined that ... who had always been ſo obſequious to ... his lifetime, would never afterwards depart ... plan which he had traced out to them. He ... majority of the prince at the completion of ... year; and as Edward was then only a ... paſt nine, he appointed ſixteen executors; ... during the minority, he entruſted the go... ... of the king and kingdom. Their names ... Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Lord ... chancellor; Lord St John, great maſ... ſter;

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ſter; Lord Ruſſel, privy ſeal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; Viſcount Liſle, admiral; Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of horſe; Sir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common pleas; Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treaſurer of Calais; Dr Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To theſe executors, with whom was entruſted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counſellors, who poſſeſſed no immediate power, and could only aſſiſt with their advice, when any affair was laid before them. The council was compoſed of the earls of Arundel and Eſſex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treaſurer of the houſehold; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund Peckham[a]. The uſual caprice of Henry appears ſomewhat in this nomination; while he appointed ſeveral perſons of inferior ſtation among his executors, and gave only the place of counſellor to a perſon of ſuch high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

Innovations in the regency.

But the firſt act of the executors and counſellors was to depart from the deſtination of the late king in a material article. No ſooner were they met, than it was ſuggeſted, that the government would loſe its dignity, for want of ſome head, who might repreſent the royal majeſty, who might receive addreſſes from foreign ambaſſadors, to whom diſpatches from Engliſh miniſters abroad might be carried, and whoſe name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: And

a Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

And as the king's will seemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed necessary to supply it, by chusing a protector; who, though he should possess all the exterior symbols of royal dignity, should yet be bound, in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors [b]. This proposal was very disagreeable to chancellor Wriothesely. That magistrate, a man of an active spirit and high ambition, found himself, by his office, entitled to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for state affairs, he hoped that the direction of public business would of course devolve in a great measure upon himself. He opposed, therefore, the proposal of chusing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the same authority which had established it. But he seems to have stood alone in the opposition. The executors and counsellors were mostly courtiers who had been raised by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been sufficiently accustomed to submission during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretensions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquiesced the more willingly in a proposal which seemed calculated for preserving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority [c]. The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the administration; and dispatches were sent to all foreign courts,

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Hertford protector.

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5.

[c] Heylin, Hist. Ref. Edw. VI.

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courts, to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their office during pleasure[d]: And it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown[e].

The executors, in their next measure, showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of his resolution; and, in his will, he charged his executors to make good all his promises[f]. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, marischal and lord treasurer; Wriothesely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of

29th Feb.

d Collier, vol. ii. p. 218. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141.

e Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141.

f Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer.

of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of barons[g]. Several to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promise, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as also Somerset, the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deanries, and prebends. For, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and property, this irregular practice, of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen, began now to prevail.

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The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed, even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had, of himself, and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had impowered four lawyers, Southwell, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute, in his absence, the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as, two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected that, by this nomination, the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal; and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council

[g] Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

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council summoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized. But the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure[h].

The removal of Southampton encreased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency; yet was not Somerset contented with this advantage: His ambition carried him to seek still farther acquisitions. On pretence that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely o-
12 March. verturned the will of Harry VIII. produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: He reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure: And he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever[i]. Even had this patent been more moderate

[h] Hollingshed, p 979. [i] Burnet, vol. ii. Records, No. 6.

derate in its conceſſions, and had it been drawn by direction from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might juſtly be queſtioned; ſince it ſeems eſſential to a truſt of this nature to be exerciſed by the perſons entruſted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: But as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not ſo much as mentioned, appears to have been ſurreptitiouſly obtained from a minor king, the protectorſhip of Somerſet was a plain uſurpation, which it is impoſſible by any arguments to juſtify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their preſent acquieſcence in the new eſtabliſhment, made it be univerſally ſubmitted to; and as the young king diſcovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was alſo in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of ſenſe, likewiſe, who ſaw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the oppoſite ſects, deemed it the more neceſſary to entruſt the government to one perſon, who might check the exorbitancies of faction, and enſure the public tranquillity. And though ſome clauſes of the patent ſeemed to imply a formal ſubverſion of all limited government, ſo little jealouſy was then uſually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretenſions of this nature, advanced by any perſon poſſeſſed of ſovereign power. The actual exerciſe alone of arbitrary adminiſtration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular inſtances, was able ſometimes to give ſome umbrage to the nation.

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Reformation completed.

The extenſive authority and imperious character of Henry had retained the partizans of both religions in ſubjection; but, upon his demiſe, the hopes of the Proteſtants, and the fears of the Catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of theſe parties produced every where diſputes and animoſities, the uſual preludes to more fatal diviſions. The protector had long been regarded

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regarded as a ſecret partizan of the reformers; and being now freed from reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to diſcover his intention of correcting all abuſes in the ancient religion, and of adopting ſtill more of the Proteſtant innovations. He took care that all perſons, entruſted with the king's education, ſhould be attached to the ſame principles; and as the young prince diſcovered a zeal for every kind of literature, eſpecially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foreſaw, in the courſe of his reign, the total abolition of the Catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themſelves in favour of thoſe tenets, which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council ſeemed to retain any attachment to the Romiſh communion; and moſt of the counſellors appeared even ſanguine in forwarding the progreſs of the reformation. The riches, which moſt of them had acquired from the ſpoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by eſtabliſhing a contrariety of ſpeculative tenets, as well as of diſcipline and worſhip, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable [k]. Their rapacity alſo, the chief ſource of their reforming ſpirit, was excited by the proſpect of pillaging the ſecular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew that, while any ſhare of the old principles remained, or any regard to the eccleſiaſtics, they could never hope to ſucceed in that enterprize.

The numerous and burthenſome ſuperſtitions, with which the Romiſh church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the ſpirit of oppoſition, into an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior obſervances were zealouſly proſcribed by them, as hindrances to their ſpiritual contemplations, and obſtructions to their immediate

I

k Goodwin's Annals. Heylin.

immediate converse with heaven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making proselytes, the furious persecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with consequences which, though less durable, were, for some time, not less dangerous than those which were connected with the ancient superstition. But as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was still preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship. CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He probably also foresaw that a system, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion merely spiritual was fitted only for the first fervours of a new sect, and upon the relaxation of these naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He seems, therefore, to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being suited to a great and settled government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished, or entirely evaporated.

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The perſon who oppoſed, with greateſt authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late diſguſts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the higheſt truſt and confidence of his party. This prelate ſtill continued to magnify the great wiſdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and ſincerely revered by the nation; and he inſiſted on the prudence of perſevering, at leaſt till the young king's majority, in the eccleſiaſtical model eſtabliſhed by that great monarch. He defended the uſe of images, which were now openly attacked by the Proteſtants; and he repreſented them as ſerviceable in maintaining a ſenſe of religion among the illiterate multitude [l]. He even deigned to write an apology for *holy water*, which Biſhop Ridley had decried in a ſermon; and he maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an inſtrument of doing good; as much as the ſhadow of St Peter, the hem of Chriſt's garment, or the ſpittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind [m]. Above all, he inſiſted that the laws ought to be obſerved, that the conſtitution ought to be preſerved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the ſovereign, in oppoſition to an act of parliament [n].

Gardiner's oppoſition.

But though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a conſtitution, ſufficient at leaſt to furniſh a topic of argument to ſuch as were diſcontented with any immediate exerciſe of authority, this plea could ſcarcely, in the preſent caſe, be maintained with any plauſibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had inveſted the crown with a legiſlative power;

l Fox, vol. ii. p. 712.
m Ibid. p. 724.
n Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. Fox, vol. ii.

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ty; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England [o]. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain, for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil [p].

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions. The court of augmentation, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: Twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: And all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching any where but in

[o] Mem. Cranm. p. 146, 147, &c. [p] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 28.

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their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the Catholic divines, while the Protestant, by the grant of particular licenses, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

Bonner made some opposition to these measures, but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high-spirited, and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "'Tis a dangerous thing," said he, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. For my part," said he, on another occasion, "my sole concern is to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death: No man can give me a pardon from this sentence; nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qualities: They will stick by a man when every thing else takes its leave; and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best on it is, if I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me: But if I give them up, then am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

One

q Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliotheca Britannica, article GARDINER.

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One of the chief objections urged by Gardiner against the new homilies was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "An insensible ass, and "one that had no feeling of God's Spirit in the mat-"ter of justification [r]." The meanest Protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretel its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, shows, and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self abasement which generally have place in religion.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no farther severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

Foreign affairs.

The same religious zeal which engaged Somerset to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the Protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at last summoned

[r] Fox, vol. ii.

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summoned a general council, which was assembled at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the Protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness so deeply interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates who presided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument and altercation, and dispute concerning the nice points of faith canvassed before them: A policy so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision[g]. The more difficult task for the legates was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to Bologna, where, they hoped, it would be more under the direction of his holiness.

The emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the Protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the Protestant confederacy: He took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: By the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: He employed treachery and prevarication

[g] Father Paul, lib. 2.

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ration against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a safe conduct which he had granted him. He seemed to have reached the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were farther discouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, first of Henry VIII. then of Francis I. their usual resources in every calamity [t].

Henry II. who succeeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but less hasty in his resolution than Francis, and less inflamed with rivalship and animosity against the Emperor Charles. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promised them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with so great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of those princes was a sure resource, which he could at any time lay hold of [u]. He was much governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counsel, in chusing rather to give immediate assistance to Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII. had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

Progress of the reformation in Scotland.

The hatred between the two factions, the partizans of the ancient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the resolution which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated

[t] Sleidan. [u] Pere Daniel.

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for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning: But these praises cannot be much depended on; because we know that, among the reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old alone was the word of God [w]. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile, a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: But lest he should spread the contagion, by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: The infected stood within; the others without. And the preacher failed

[w] See note [P] at the end of the volume.

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not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission [z].

The assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to Cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of so celebrated a preacher, to strike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwell to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwell to that unhappy man: And being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart. He determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should, in the very same place, lie as low, as now he was exalted aloft, in opposition to true piety and religion [y].

Assassination of Cardinal Beaton.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprize with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and, though they were not above

[z] Knox's Hist. of Ref. p. 44. Spotswood. [y] Spotswood. Buchanan.

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above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricaded the door of his chamber: But finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in villany, stopped their career, and bade them reflect that this sacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou "wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, "especially of the murder of Wishart, that instru- "ment of God for the conversion of these lands: It "is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: "We are sent by God to inflict the deserved punish- "ment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, "that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of "thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves "me to seek thy death: But only because thou hast "been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to "Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to finish that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet[z]. This murder was executed on the 28th of

z The famous Scotch reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65. a man most gentle and most modest. It is very horrid, but at the same time somewhat amusing, to consider the joy and alacrity and pleasure, which that historian

of May 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promised to take them under his protection. CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five short reigns had been successively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of justice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animosities of the great. But besides these inveterate and ancient evils, a new source of disorder had arisen, the disputes and contentions of theology, which were sufficient to disturb the most settled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was possessed of abilities and vigour, seemed much to weaken the hands of the administration. But the queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and she did as much to support the government, and supply the weakness of Arran, the governor, as could be expected in her situation.

Conduct of the war with Scotland.

The protector of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if possible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,000

historian discovers in his narrative of this assassination: And it is remarkable that in the first edition of his work, these words were printed on the margin of the page, *The godly Fact and Words of James Melvil.* But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himself had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the assassins, and assisted them in holding out the castle. See Keith's Hist. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 45.

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18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, the other laden with proviſions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to Lord Clinton: He himſelf marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwick. Theſe hoſtile meaſures were covered with a pretence of revenging ſome depredations committed by the borderers; but beſides that Somerſet revived the ancient claim of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh crown over that of Scotland, he refuſed to enter into negociation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The proteſtor, before he opened the campaign, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that meaſure. He ſaid, that nature ſeemed originally to have intended this iſland for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign ſtates, and guarded it by the ocean, ſhe had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happineſs and to ſecurity: That the education and cuſtoms of the people concurred with nature; and, by giving them the ſame language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: That fortune had at laſt removed all obſtacles, and had prepared an expedient, by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealouſy, either of honour or of intereſt, to which rival nations are naturally expoſed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male; and happily the two ſovereigns, as of a rank, were alſo of an age, the moſt ſuitable to each other: That the hoſtile diſpoſitions, which prevailed between the nations, and which aroſe from paſt injuries, would ſoon be extinguiſhed, after a long and ſecure peace had eſtabliſhed confidence between them: That the memory of former miſeries, which at preſent inflamed their mutual animoſity, would then ſerve only to make them

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cherish, with more passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity so long unknown to their ancestors: That when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: That as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: That though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that, besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded [a].

Somerset soon perceived that these remonstrances would have no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the Catholic religion would render ineffectual all negociations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity, to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance for some days, except from some small castles, which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting such unequal force: But they eluded his anger, by

2d Sept.

[a] Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.

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by asking only a few hours respite, till they should prepare themselves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy[c].

The governor of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within sight of them at Faside; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scots were worsted, and Lord Hume dangerously wounded, Somerset prepared himself for a more decisive action. But having taken a view of the Scottish camp with the earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home, till she reached the age of chusing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots, merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector must either be reduced to great distress, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate so much of his former pretensions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed, that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they any longer doubt, that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very

[c] Haywood. Patten.

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1547. 10th Sept.

very time moved into the bay, opposite to [illegible] De-
termined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted
their camp; and passing the river Eske, advanced into
the plain. They were divided into three bodies: An-
nan commanded the van-guard; Arran the main bo-
dy; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry consisted only
of eight horse, which were placed on their left flank,
strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had
brought over for this service.

Somerset was much pleased when he saw this move-
ment of the Scottish army; and as the English had u-
sually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived
great hopes of success. He ranged his van on the
left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to re-
main on the high grounds on which he placed them,
till the enemy should approach: He placed his main
battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the
van he posted Lord Grey at the head of the men at
arms, and ordered him to take the Scottish van in flank,
but not till they should be engaged in close fight with
the van of the English.

The battle of Pinkey.

While the Scots were advancing on the plain, they
were galled with the artillery from the English ships:
The eldest son of Lord Graham was killed: The Irish
archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other
troops began to stagger: When Lord Grey, perceiv-
ing their situation, neglected his orders, left his
ground, and, at the head of his heavy-armed horse,
made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of
gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing,
he found a slough and ditch in his way; and behind
were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the
field on which they stood was fallow ground, bro-
ken with ridges, which lay across their front, and dis-
ordered the movements of the English cavalry. From
all these accidents, the shock of this body of horse
was

d Hollingshed, p. 985.

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was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him: The standard was near being taken: And, had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry, who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger [e].

The protector, meanwhile, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success, in rallying the cavalry. Warwick showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: He made Sir Peter Meutace advance, captain of the foot harquebusiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish harquebusiers on horseback; and ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the slough, and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: The ships galled them from the flank: The artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front: The English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: And the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely and in good order towards them. Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: The retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added

[e] Patten. Hollingshed, p. 986.

more to the diſmay of the vanquiſhed. The CHAP. XXXIV.
in particular, eager to revenge the affront, 1547.
they had received in the beginning of the day,
the moſt bloody execution on the flying enemy;
from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the
of five miles, the whole ground was ſtrowed
dead bodies. The prieſts, above all, and the
received no quarter; and the Engliſh made
ſport of ſlaughtering men, who, from their extreme
and animoſity, had engaged in an enterprize ſo
ill befitting their profeſſion. Few victories have been
more deciſive, or gained with ſmaller loſs to the con-
querors. There fell not two hundred of the Eng-
liſh; and, according to the moſt moderate computa-
tion, there periſhed about ten thouſand of the Scots.
About fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. This
action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a noble-
man's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were ſcarcely able to collect ſuch a body of forces as could check the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. About the ſame time, the earl of Lenox and Lord Wharton entered the Weſt Marches, at the head of five thouſand men, and, after taking and plundering Annan, they ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring counties[f]. Had Somerſet proſecuted his advantages, he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on the Scottiſh nation: But he was impatient to return to England, where, he heard, ſome counſellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals againſt his authority. Having taken the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, Faſtcaſtle, Roxborough, and ſome other ſmall places; and having received the ſubmiſſion of ſome counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, beſides deſtroying all the ſhipping along the coaſt, took Broughty in the frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left a garriſon.

[f] Hollingſhed, p. 992.

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Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negociate: But no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice, to gain time, till succours should arrive from France.

4th Nov.

The protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament: And being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent, the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedency, enacted during the former reign[g]. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much state, he deserves great praise on account of the laws passed this session, by which the rigour of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed, which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III.[h]; all laws enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws, that ever had passed in England, were annulled; and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only, there remained no precise standard by which that crime could

A parliament.

g Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

h 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

defined or determined: A circumſtance CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.
might either be advantageous or hurtful to pu-
niſhment, according to the diſpoſition of the judge.

A repeal alſo paſſed of that law, the deſtruction of
rebels, by which the king's proclamation was made
equal force with a ſtatute[i]. That other law like-
wiſe was mitigated, by which the king was empower-
ed to annul every ſtatute paſſed before the four and
twentieth year of his age: He could prevent their fu-
ture execution; but could not recal any paſt effects
which had enſued from them[k].

It was alſo enacted, that all who denied the king's
ſupremacy, or aſſerted the pope's, ſhould, for the firſt
offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and ſuffer im-
priſonment during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence,
ſhould incur the penalty of a *præmunire*; and for the
third, be attainted of treaſon. But if any, after the
firſt of March enſuing, endeavoured, by writing, print-
ing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of
his eſtate or titles, particularly of his ſupremacy, or
to tranſfer them on any other, he was to be adjudged
guilty of treaſon. If any of the heirs of the crown
ſhould uſurp upon another, or endeavour to break the
order of ſucceſſion, it was declared treaſon in them,
their aiders and abettors. Theſe were the moſt con-
ſiderable acts paſſed during this ſeſſion. The members
in general diſcovered a very paſſive diſpoſition with re-
gard to religion: Some few appeared zealous for the
reformation: Others ſecretly harboured a ſtrong pro-
penſity to the Catholic faith: But the greater part ap-
peared willing to take any impreſſion, which they
ſhould receive from intereſt, authority, or the reign-
ing faſhion[l].

The convocation met at the ſame time with the par-
liament; and as it was found that their debates were

i 1 Edw. VI. c. 2. k Ibid. l Heylin, p. 48.

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1547. at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament[m]. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the commons in parliament; or if this privilege was refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they desired that no law regarding religion might pass in parliament without their consent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed were more favourable to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power; and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

1548. The protector had assented to the repeal of that law, which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, in issuing proclamations, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to distinguish exactly from a full legislative power. He even continued to exert this authority in some particulars, which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday[n]. These were ancient religious practices, now termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind, when superstition happens to take a direction so innocent and inoffensive. The severe disposition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewise the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion[o].

Farther progress of the reformation.

An order was also issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: An innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total

m Antiq. Britan. p. 339. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.
n Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59.
o Burnet, vol. ii.

of the eſtabliſhed religion [p]. An attempt CHAP. XXXIV.
had been made to ſeparate the uſe of images from their abuſe, the reverence from the worſhip of them; 1548.
but the execution of this deſign was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private maſſes were aboliſhed by law, it became neceſſary to compoſe a new communion-ſervice; and the council went ſo far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confeſſion wholly indifferent [q]. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the moſt powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their ſpiritual guides an entire aſcendant over them. And it may eaſily be ſaid, that though the prieſt's abſolution, which attends confeſſion, ſerves ſomewhat to eaſe weak minds from the immediate agonies of ſuperſtitious terror, it operates only by enforcing ſuperſtition itſelf, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapſe into the ſame diſorders.

The people were at that time extremely diſtracted by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reaſons advanced on either ſide, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of equal authority, a great confuſion and fluctuation reſulted from this uncertainty. The council had firſt endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying ſome reſtraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they impoſed a total ſilence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit [r]. By the nature of things, this reſtraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worſhip, its ſhews and exterior obſervances, were retrenched by the reformers, the

p Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.
q Burnet, vol. ii.
r Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

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the people were inclined to contract a strong attachment to sermons, whence alone they received occupation or amusement. The ancient religion giving its votaries something to do, freed them the trouble of thinking: Sermons were delivered daily in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction and sedition, had much less force and influence during those ages.

Affairs of Scotland.

The greater progress was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation, which had so far departed from all ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified by Lord Grey: He also erected some fortifications at Lauder: And he hoped, that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller fortresses, which were in the hands of the English, would serve as a curb on Scotland; and would give him access into the heart of the country.

Arran, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of six thousand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by D'Essé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance; and make inroads to the gates of the capital[1]: But on the appearance of the French succours, they collected more courage; and

[1] Beaugé, Hist. of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549, p. 6.

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joined D'Eſſé with a conſiderable reinforce- they laid ſiege to Haddington [t]. This was an ing for which they were by themſelves to- ; and, even with the aſſiſtance of the French, placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in ſtarving the . After ſome vain attempts to take the place a regular ſiege, the blockade was formed, and the on was repulſed with loſs in ſeveral ſallies which made upon the beſiegers.

The hoſtile attempts which the late king and the protector had made againſt Scotland, not being ſteady, regular, nor puſhed to the laſt extremity, had ſerved only to irritate the nation, and to inſpire them with the ſtrongeſt averſion to that union, which was ſought in ſo violent a manner. Even thoſe who were inclined to the Engliſh alliance, were diſpleaſed to have it impoſed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley, in particular, ſaid pleaſantly, that he diſliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing [u]. The queen-dowager, finding theſe ſentiments to prevail, called a parliament, in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there propoſed, that the young queen, for her greater ſecurity, ſhould be ſent to France, and be committed to the cuſtody of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this meaſure was deſperate, allowed no reſource in caſe of miſcarriage, expoſed the Scots to be ſubjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient, by which they could conciliate the friendſhip of that powerful nation. It was anſwered, on the other hand, that the queen's preſence was the very cauſe of war with England; that that nation would deſiſt, when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by ſo high a mark of confidence, would take their ſovereign under his protection, and uſe his utmoſt efforts to

[t] Hollingſhed, p. 993. [u] Heylin, p. 46. Patten.

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defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a-year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms [w]. And as the clergy dreaded the consequences of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principle or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the frith of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea, he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton: An extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric [x]. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the Lords Ereskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

Young queen of Scots sent into France.

Somerset, pressed by many difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his enterprize against Scotland, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortresses of Hume and Fast-castle by surprize, and put the garrisons to the sword: They repulsed, with loss, the English, who, under the command of Lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrose: In the former action, James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, acquired honour;

w Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

x Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

1548.

...ourse; in the latter, Areskine of Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a considerable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but these troops, falling into an ambuscade, were almost wholly cut in pieces [y]. And though a small body of two hundred men escaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived safely in Haddington, with some ammunition and provisions, the garrison was reduced to such difficulties, that the protector found it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raised an army of eighteen thousand men, and adding three thousand Germans, who, on the dissolution of the Protestant alliance, had offered their service to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewsbury [z]. D'Essé raised the blockade on the approach of the English; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he posted himself advantageously. Shrewsbury, who had lost the opportunity of attaking him on his march, durst not give him battle in his present situation; and contenting himself with the advantage already gained, of supplying Haddington, he retired into England.

Though the protection of France was of great consequence to the Scots, in supporting them against the invasions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions which had creeped into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high stations which they severally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had risen, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom, by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Lord Seymour was a man of insatiable ambition: arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity

Cabals of Lord Seymour.

y Stowe, p. 595. Hollingshed, p. 994. z Hayward, p. 291.

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ty to the protector, he poſſeſſed not to the ſame degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and addreſs, he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe married him immediately upon the demiſe of the late king: inſomuch that, had ſhe ſoon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which huſband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance ſupported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the ducheſs of Somerſet, who, uneaſy that the younger brother's wife ſhould have the precedency, employed all her credit with her huſband, who was too great, firſt to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers [a].

The firſt ſymptoms of this miſunderſtanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerſet, remarked, that Seymour was forming ſeparate intrigues among the counſellors; was corrupting, by preſents, the king's ſervants; and even endeavouring by improper indulgences and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget repreſented to him the danger of this conduct; deſired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the ſudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him, that any diſſention between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonſtrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerſet, and engaged him to leave the enterprize upon Scotland unfiniſhed, in order to guard againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. In the enſuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared ſtill more dangerous to public tranquillity; and, as he had acquired many partizans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He repreſented

a Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 5. Haynes, p. 69. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. vi. c.

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...ained to his friends, that formerly, during a mi... the office of protector of the kingdom hath ... kept ſeparate from that of governor of the king's ... ; and that the preſent union of theſe two im... truſts conferred on Somerſet an authority, ... could not ſafely be lodged in any ſubject[b]. ... young king was even prevailed on to write a let... to the parliament, deſiring that Seymour might be ... his governor; and that nobleman had form... a party in the two houſes, by which he hoped to ... his purpoſe. The deſign was diſcovered before ... execution; and ſome common friends were ſent to ... remonſtrate with him; but had ſo little influence, that ... threw out many menacing expreſſions, and raſhly ... threatened, that, if he were thwarted in his attempt, ... would make this parliament the blackeſt that ever ... in England[c]. The council ſent for him, to anſwer ... his conduct; but he refuſed to attend: They then ... began to threaten in their turn, and informed him, ... that the king's letter, inſtead of availing him any ... thing to the execution of his views, would be impu... ted to him as a criminal enterprize, and be conſtrued ... as a deſign to diſturb the government, by forming a ... ſeparate intereſt with a child and minor. They even ... let fall ſome menaces of ſending him to the Tower for ... his temerity; and the admiral, finding himſelf pre... vented in his deſign, was obliged to ſubmit, and to ... deſire a reconciliation with his brother.

The mild and moderate temper of Somerſet made him willing to forget theſe enterprizes of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent ſpirit could not be ſo eaſily appeaſed. His ſpouſe, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but ſo far from regarding this event as a check to his aſpiring views, he founded on it the ſcheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addreſſes to the Lady Elizabeth, then in the ſixteenth year of her age; and that princeſs, whom e... ven

[b] Haynes, p. 82. 90. [c] Ibid. p. 75.

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ven the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition, could not, in her more advanced years, disengage entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man, who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair [e]. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain, it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack, by presents, the fidelity of those who had more immediate access to the king's person: He endeavoured to seduce the young prince into his interests: He found means of holding a private correspondence with him: He openly decried his brother's administration; and asserted, that, by enlisting Germans, and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his interest all over England: He neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and had computed, that he could, on occasion, muster an army of 10,000 men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers [f]: He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sharington, a corrupt man, master of the Mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprized of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured, by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him desist from his dangerous counsels: But finding all endeavours ineffectual,

[e] Haynes, p. 95, 96. 102. 108. [f] Ibid. p. 105, 106.

ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwick was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both. CHAP. XXXIV. 1548.

Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the son of that Dudley, minister to Henry VII. who having, by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed to popular animosity, in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the iniquity, at least illegality of the sentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley's blood, by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, industry, and activity, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him successful in his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of Viscount Lisle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority; and having obtained the title of earl of Warwick, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counsellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was universally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: And as he found that Lord Seymour, whose abilities and enterprizing spirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness. Dudley, earl of Warwick.

When Somerset found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's seditious, not to say rebellious schemes, he was the more easily persuaded by Warwick to employ the extent of royal authority against him;

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him; and, after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report, that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles[g], and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestibly proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by this appearance: He boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted by the witnesses; desired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories, by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though, on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed

[g] Burnet, vol. ii. Col. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

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...ed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt ...s to have conſiſted in ſome unwarrantable prac... in the admiralty, by which pirates were pro..., and illegal impoſitions laid upon the mer...

...but the adminiſtration had, at that time, an eaſy ...ſument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and ...ded not to give themſelves any concern with re... either to the guilt of the perſons whom they ...ſecuted, or the evidence which could be produced ...ainſt them. A ſeſſion of parliament being held, it was reſolved to proceed againſt Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much ſolicitation, to give his conſent to it, a conſiderable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was firſt laid before the upper-houſe; and ſeveral peers, riſing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning Lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. Theſe narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and though the priſoner had formerly engaged many friends and partizans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the teſtimony againſt him ſhould be delivered in a legal manner, and that he ſhould be confronted with the witneſſes. A little more ſcruple was made in the houſe of commons: There were even ſome members who objected againſt the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder paſſed in abſence; and inſiſted that a formal trial ſhould be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a meſſage was ſent by the king, enjoining the houſe to proceed, and offering that the ſame narratives ſhould be laid before them which had ſatisfied the peers, they were eaſily prevailed on to acquieſce[h]. The bill paſſed in a full houſe. Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten againſt it[i]. The ſentence was ſoon after executed, and

A parliament. 4th Nov.

1549. Attainder of Lord Seymour.

March 20.

h 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

i Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99.

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His execution.

and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seem chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitious, enterprizing character, encouraged by a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing evils at such a distance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said, that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been enured: for here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of Lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: They retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: They indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: And they flattered themselves that they had established a service, in which every denomination of Christians might, without scruple, concur. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended, in some few particulars, to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation

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tuition of the liturgy, as well as of the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, ſeemed more conformable to the genius of their ſect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to ſaints, and of ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old maſs and the new liturgy. The parliament eſtabliſhed this form of worſhip in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be obſerved in all the rites and ceremonies [k].

There was another material act which paſſed this ſeſſion. The former canons had eſtabliſhed the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is uſually aſcribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought that the eccleſiaſtics would be more devoted to their ſpiritual head, and leſs dependent on the civil magiſtrate, when freed from the powerful tie of wives and children; yet was this inſtitution much forwarded by the principles of ſuperſtition inherent in human nature. Theſe principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chaſtity ſo frequent among the ancient fathers, long before the eſtabliſhment of celibacy. And even this parliament, though they enacted a law, permitting the marriage of prieſts, yet confeſs, in the preamble, "that it were better for prieſts and the mini-"ſters of the church to live chaſte and without mar-"riage, and it were much to be wiſhed they would "of themſelves abſtain." The inconveniencies which had ariſen from the compelling of chaſtity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reaſons aſſigned for indulging a liberty in this particular [l]. The ideas of penance alſo were ſo much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament paſſed, forbidding the uſe of fleſh-meat during Lent and other times of abſtinence [m].

k 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.
l 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21.
m 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 9. See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

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The principal tenets and practices of the Catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of Popery that was wholly abandoned by the people[n]. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might, in part, be the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests likewise were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary, and, as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name still to retain it: And the Catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear, on every occasion, inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared a-new refractory to the authority, which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English Catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council, during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the Tower,

n Burnet, vol. ii. exp. 104.

Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure. CHAP. XXXIV. 1549.

These severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed, in that age, a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline: But there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the Protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions, deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer[q]. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them, if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: Or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: And in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious,

q Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181.

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that the commiſſioners could make no impreſſion upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Chriſt was not truly "incarnate of the virgin, whoſe fleſh, being the "outward man, was ſinfully begotten, and born in "ſin; and conſequently, he could take none of it: "But the word, by the conſent of the inward man "of the virgin, was made fleſh[p]." This opinion, it would ſeem, is not orthodox; and there was a neceſſity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in ſuch tender years, had more ſenſe than all his counſellors and preceptors; and he long refuſed to ſign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to perſuade him to compliance; and he ſaid, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and thoſe which were in direct contradiction to the Apoſtles creed: Theſe latter were impieties againſt God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repreſs; in like manner, as inferior magiſtrates were bound to puniſh offences againſt the king's perſon. Edward, overcome by importunity, at laſt ſubmitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that, if any wrong were done, the guilt ſhould lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obſtinate againſt all his arguments, at laſt committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accuſed of the hereſy, which has received the name of Arianiſm, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment. He ſuffered with ſo much ſatisfaction, that he hugged and careſſed the faggots that were conſuming him; a ſpecies of frenzy, of which there is more than one inſtance among the martyrs of that age[q].

Theſe

p Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.
q Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

These rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The Lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who, using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council [r].

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[r] Heylin, p. 102.

CHAP. XXXV.

Discontents of the people——Insurrections——Conduct of the war with Scotland——with France——Factions in the council——Conspiracy against Somerset——Somerset resigns the protectorship——A parliament——Peace with France and Scotland——Boulogne surrendered——Persecution of Gardiner——Warwick created duke of Northumberland——His ambition——Trial of Somerset——His execution——A parliament——A new parliament——Succession changed——The king's sickness——and death.

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1549. Discontents of the people.

THERE is no abuse so great in civil society, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit, resulting from the change, is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable, in the main, to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, always residing in their convents, in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the encrease of public riches, yet did it provide to many

a relief from the extreme preſſures of want and ne- CHAP. XXXV.
ceſſity. It is alſo obſervable, that, as the friars were limited by the rules of their inſtitution, to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they ſtill are in Roman Catholic countries, the beſt and moſt indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leaſes at an under-value, and to receive, in return, a large preſent from the tenant; in the ſame manner as is ſtill practiſed by the biſhops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were diſtributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: The rents of farms were raiſed, while the tenants found not the ſame facility in diſpoſing of the produce; the money was often ſpent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a diſtance, were expoſed to oppreſſion from their new maſters, or to the ſtill greater rapacity of the ſtewards. 1549.

Theſe grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other cauſes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England theſe arts had made greater progreſs than the knowledge of agriculture; a profeſſion, which, of all mechanical employments, requires the moſt reflection and experience. A great demand aroſe for wool both abroad and at home: Paſturage was found more profitable than unſkilful tillage: Whole eſtates were laid waſte by incloſures: The tenants, regarded as a uſeleſs burden, were expelled their habitations: Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons, on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery: And a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom [a]. This grievance was now of an old date;

[a] Strype, vol. ii. Repoſitory Q.

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and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, obſerves in his Utopia, that a ſheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The general encreaſe alſo of gold and ſilver in Europe, after the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, had a tendency to inflame theſe complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could eaſily be tranſported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not ſo eaſily change their habitation, ſtill remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a ſubſiſtence by their induſtry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this encreaſe of induſtry was at laſt the effect of the preſent ſituation, and an effect beneficial to ſociety, yet was it difficult for the people to ſhake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but neceſſity could compel them to ſuch an exertion of their faculties.

It muſt alſo be remarked, that the profuſion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithſtanding his rapacity, to ſuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a preſent neceſſity, by the pernicious expedient of debaſing the coin; and the wars, in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry ſtill farther the ſame abuſe. The uſual conſequences enſued: The good ſpecie was hoarded or exported; baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchaſe commodities at the uſual rates; a univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

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The protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making enquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages[t]. As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert: Those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford, and Gloucester, by Lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

Insurrections.

The commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against inclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject, in the present emergency, made the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties,

[t] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 171.

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counties, the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negociate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed[u]. The council to whom Russel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy[w]. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William Herbert and Lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit[x], and took many prisoners. Arundel

u Hayward, p. 292. Hollingshed. p. 1003. Fox, vol. ii. p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 186.

w Heylin, p. 76.

x Stowe's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295.

Arundel and the other leaders were ſent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior ſort were put to death by martial law[1]: The vicar of St Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own ſteeple, arrayed in his popiſh weeds, with his beads at his girdle[2]. CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

The inſurrection in Norfolk roſe to a ſtill greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at firſt excited, as in other places, by complaints againſt incloſures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thouſand, they grew inſolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretenſions. They required the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, the placing of new counſellors about the king, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had aſſumed the government over them, and he exerciſed his authority with the utmoſt arrogance and outrage. Having taken poſſeſſion of Mouſhold-hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the Oak of Reformation; and ſummoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave ſuch decrees as might be expected from his character and ſituation. The marquis of Northampton was firſt ordered againſt him; but met with a repulſe, in an action where Lord Sheffield was killed[3]. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in perſon againſt the rebels: He therefore ſent the earl of Warwick at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars againſt Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increaſing his reputation and character. Warwick, having tried ſome ſkirmiſhes with the rebels, at laſt made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thouſand fell in the action and purſuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich caſtle; nine of

[1] Hayward, p. 295, 296.
[2] Heylin, p. 76. Hollingſhed, p. 1030—34. Strype, vol. ii. p. 174. 1026.
[3] Stowe, p. 597. Hollingſhed, p.

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of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector [b].

Conduct of the war with Scotland.

But though the insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, and no traces of them seemed to remain, they were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprize; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though Lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: The place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: And as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwick; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

With France.

The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry VIII.

[b] Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299.

VIII. had conquered from France. On other pre- CHAP. XXXV.
tences, he aſſembled an army; and falling ſuddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the caſtles of Sellaque, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe, though well ſupplied with garriſons, ammunition, and proviſions [d]. He endeavoured to ſurprize Boulenberg, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, not thinking the place tenable after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, deſtroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a peſtilential diſtemper, which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of ſucceſs againſt Boulogne itſelf; and he retired to Paris [d]. He left the command of the army to Gaſpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, ſo famous afterwards by the name of Admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the ſiege early in the ſpring. The active diſpoſition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, ſeveral attempts againſt the place; but they all proved unſucceſsful. 1549.

Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a deſcent on Jerſey; but meeting there with an Engliſh fleet, he commenced an action, which ſeems not to have been deciſive, ſince the hiſtorians of the two nations differ in their account of the event [e].

As ſoon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himſelf with the alliance of the emperor; and he ſent over Secretary Paget to Bruſſels, where Charles then kept court, in order to aſſiſt Sir Philip Hobby, the reſident ambaſſador, in this negociation. But that prince had formed a deſign of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion

d Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6.
d Hayward, p. 300.
e Thuan. King Edward's Journal Stowe, p. 597.

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champion for the Catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connections with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact account is preserved of this negociation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable, that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France[f]. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England[g].

Somerset, despairing of assistance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward: And as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small moment to anticipate, a few years, the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who, seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector.

After

f Burnet, vol. ii. p. 132. 175.

g Idem, p. 133.

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After Somerset obtained the patent, investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that every one ought, in every thing, to yield to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him, were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt [h]; and while he shewed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not, in any respect, proportioned to his ambition. Warwick, more subtile and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with Southampton, who had been readmitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector.

1549. Factions in the council.

The malcontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procrastination, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house, for the relief of the people [i], and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative, at that time, could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

But

h Strype, vol. ii. p. 181.

i Ibid. p. 183.

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But though Somerſet courted the people, the intereſt which he had formed with them was in no degree anſwerable to his expectations. The Catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aſpect: The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was repreſented in invidious colours: The great eſtate which he had ſuddenly acquired, at the expence of the church and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious; and the palace, which he was building in the Strand, ſerved, by its magnificence, and ſtill more by other circumſtances which attended it, to expoſe him to the cenſure of the public. The pariſh church of St Mary, with three biſhops houſes, was pulled down, in order to furniſh ground and materials for this ſtructure: Not content with that ſacrilege, an attempt was made to demoliſh St Margaret's, Weſtminſter, and to employ the ſtones to the ſame purpoſe; but the pariſhioners roſe in a tumult, and chaced away the protector's tradeſmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St Paul's church-yard, with a cloiſter, and charnel-houſe belonging to it: and theſe edifices, together with a church of St John of Jeruſalem, were made uſe of to raiſe his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones, being carried away, were buried in unconſecrated ground [k].

6th Octob.

All theſe imprudencies were remarked by Somerſet's enemies, who reſolved to take advantage of them. Lord St John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-houſe; and aſſuming to themſelves

Conſpiracy againſt Somerſet.

I

k Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303.

gives the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they repre- CHAP. XXXV. 1549.
sented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance: They sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Chief Justice Montague, joined the malcontent counsellors; and every thing bore a bad aspect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them: The common council of the city being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of supporting them[1].

As soon as the protector heard of the defection of the counsellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then resided, to the castle of Windsor; and arming his friends and servants, seemed resolute to defend himself against all his enemies. But finding, that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the City and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. No sooner was this despondency known, than Lord Russel, Sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three counsellors more, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwick,

[1] Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollingshed, p. 1057.

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whom every one now regarded as master. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father, for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed, their counsel; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption, as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: They therefore begged, that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the Tower[m], with some of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him[n]; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with absolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was, in some degree, involved in the very idea of regal authority.

Somerset resigns the protectorship.

The Catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations

m Stowe, p. 600. Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601.
n Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46. Hollingshed, p. 1059.

1549.

vations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new-acquired power by any dangerous enterprize. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that the high-spirited nobleman retired from the council, and soon after died from vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Russel was created earl of Bedford: The marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and Lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the see of London[o]. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerset, and who derived their seat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal. But such niceties were during that age little understood, and still less regarded in England.

4th Nov. A parliament.

A session of parliament was held; and as it was the usual maxim of that assembly to acquiesce in every administration which was established, the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more

[o] Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226.

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reason to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed on to confess, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention [p]. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a-year in land. Lord St John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king: He recovered his liberty: And Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, Lord Dudley, with the Lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset [q].

During this session a severe law was passed against riots [r]. It was enacted, that if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate, should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: Any attempt to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining, that they were deprived of all their power, by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or

p Heylin, p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p. 603.

q Hayward, p. 309.

r 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

exert the discipline of the church: From which dimission of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and increase. The design of some was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: But others thought, that such an authority committed to the bishops, would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition. The parliament, for the present, contented themselves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons [s]. The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of Lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder [t]. This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer affirmed, that, though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent, that he had become a very honest man.

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1550. Peace with France and Scotland.

When Warwick and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object, which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace, entertained by Somerset, had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration; yet, after sending Sir Thomas Cheney

s 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 2. t Ibid. c. 13.

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to the emperor, and making again a fruitleſs effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themſelves obliged to liſten to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, Sir John Maſon, Paget, and Petre, were ſent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French king abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of penſions; and ſaid, that he never would conſent to render himſelf tributary to any prince: But he offered a ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: The Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore Lauder and Dunglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth [u]. No ſooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a cloſe alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a propoſal ſo ſuitable both to his intereſts and his inclinations. An agreement, ſome time after, was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully ſettled [w]: But this project never took effect.

Boulogne ſurrendered. 24th March

The intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent perſecutor of the Proteſtants, was nowiſe acceptable to that party in England: But in all other reſpects, the council was ſteady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws againſt the Romaniſts. Several prelates were ſtill addicted to that communion; and though they made ſome compliances,

u Burnet, vol. ii. p. 148. Hayward, p. 310, 311, 312. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 211.

w Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 293.

ces; in order to ſave their biſhopricks, they retarded, CHAP. XXXV. as much as they ſafely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to ſuch incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A reſolution was therefore taken to ſeek pretences for depriving thoſe prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more eaſy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commiſſions, in which it was declared, that they held their ſees during the king's pleaſure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to ſtrike a terror into the reſt. The method of proceeding againſt him was violent, and had ſcarcely any colour of law or juſtice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a ſermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and becauſe he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into priſon, and had been there detained during two years, without being accuſed of any crime, except diſobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerſet, Secretary Petre, and ſome others of the council, were now ſent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find ſome grounds for depriving him: He profeſſed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of ſupporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the diſpoſition which they expected or deſired [x]. A new deputation was therefore ſent, who carried him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe. He was required to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and to confeſs the juſtice of his confinement: He was likewiſe to own, that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of common prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the law of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and

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x Heylin, p. 99.

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that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to set his hand to all the articles, except the first: He maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed [y].

The council, finding that he had gone such lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was selected of such points as they thought would be the hardest of digestion; and, not content with this rigour, they also insisted on his submission, and his acknowledgment of past errors. To make this subscription more mortifying, they demanded a promise, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: But Gardiner, who saw that they intended either to ruin or dishonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance: He still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: Sentence was pronounced against him: He was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody;

[y] Collier, vol. ii. p. 305, from the council-books. Heylin, p. 99.

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body: His books and papers were seized; he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages [a]. Gardiner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: But the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers [a].

These plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council, for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher [b]. Many of these books were plaited with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havock was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: The volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: Those of literature were condemned as useless: Those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy [c]. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: They were

a Fox, vol. iii. p. 734, & seq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier.

a Goodwin de præsul. Angl. Heylin, p. 109.

b Collier, vol. ii. p. 307, from the council books.

c Wood, hist. & antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272.

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were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwick and his associates.

Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the Lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during some time, connived at; but, at last, her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison [e]; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her, that her religious faith was very ill-grounded. They asked her, what warrant there was in Scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories [f]. The Lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: She only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: And as for Protestant books, she thanked God, that, as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented [g]. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were refused her: But though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support, with honour, such a war, was desirous to comply;

e Strype, vol. ii. p. 249.
f Fox, vol. ii. Collier, Burnet.
g Hayward, p. 315.

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...ly; they found great difficulty to overcome the ...ples of the young king. He had been educated ...h a violent abhorrence of the mass and other po... rites, which he regarded as impious and idola..., that he should participate, he thought, in the ..., if he allowed its commission: And when at last ...portunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet pre...ed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into ...rs; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing ...own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue ...h an abominable mode of worship.

The great object, at this time, of antipathy among the Protestant sects, was Popery, or, more properly ...king, the Papists. These they regarded as the ...mon enemy, who threatened every moment to o...rwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its parti... by fire and sword: They had not as yet had lei...re to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the object of ...h furious quarrels and animosities, and threw the ...ole kingdom into combustion. Several Lutheran ...vines, who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shel...r in England, from the persecutions which the em...ror exercised in Germany; and they received pro...tion and encouragement. John A-lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the Catholics, settled, during some time, at Emb...n in East-Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the per...utions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The coun...l, who regarded them as industrious, useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same charac...r, not only gave them the church of Augustine friars for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were enacted into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four as...

sisting

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fisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies [h].

These differences among the Protestants were matter of triumph to the Catholics; who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of Protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revisal, and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted [i]. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of the religion, were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in this confession of faith; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain, that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition [k].

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts: They even found leisure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was, at that time, very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the

h Mem. Cranm. p. 234.
i Mem. Cranm. p. 289.
k Article xviii.

Hanſe-towns, or Eaſterlings, as they were called; CHAP. XXXV.
in order to encourage theſe merchants to ſettle in 1551.
land, they had been erected into a corporation by
y III. had obtained a patent, were endowed with
leges, and were exempted from ſeveral heavy du-
paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the En-
of commerce, that this company, uſually deno-
ed the merchants of the Still-yard, engroſſed,
down to the reign of Edward, almoſt the whole
reign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally
ployed the ſhipping of their own country, the na-
gation of England was alſo in a very languiſhing
dition. It was therefore thought proper by the
uncil, to ſeek pretences for annulling the privileges
this corporation, privileges which put them near-
on an equal footing with Engliſhmen in the duties
hich they paid; and as ſuch patents were, during
at age, granted by the abſolute power of the king,
ey were the leſs ſurpriſed to find them revoked by the
me authority. Several remonſtrances were made a-
ainſt this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburgh, and o-
er Hanſe-towns; but the council perſevered in their
olution, and the good effects of it ſoon became vi-
ble to the nation. The Engliſh merchants, by their
ery ſituation as natives, had advantages above fo-
eigners in the purchaſe of cloth, wool, and other
ommodities; though theſe advantages had not hi-
herto been ſufficient to rouze their induſtry, or en-
age them to become rivals to this opulent company:
ut when aliens, duty was alſo impoſed upon all fo-
eigners indiſcriminately, the Engliſh were tempted to
nter into commerce; and a ſpirit of induſtry began
o appear in the kingdom [1].

About the ſame time a treaty was made with Guſta-
us Ericſon, king of Sweden, by which it was ſtipu-
ated, that, if he ſent bullion into England, he might
export

[1] Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 295.

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export Engliſh commodities without paying cuſtom; that he ſhould carry bullion to no other prince; that if he ſent ozimus, ſteel, copper, &c. he ſhould pay cuſtom for Engliſh commodities as an Engliſhman; and that if he ſent other merchandize, he ſhould have free intercourſe, paying cuſtom as a ſtranger [m]. The bullion ſent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, ſet the mint at work: Good ſpecie was coined: And much of the baſe metal formerly iſſued was recalled: A circumſtance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

Warwick created duke of Northumberland.

But all theſe ſchemes for promoting induſtry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domeſtic convulſions, ariſing from the ambition of Warwick. That nobleman, not contented with the ſtation which he had attained, carried farther his pretenſions, and had gained partizans, who were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every enterprize. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the ſhare which he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwick now procured to himſelf a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, which lay chiefly in the north, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend, Paulet, Lord St John, the treaſurer, was created, firſt, earl of Wiltſhire, then marquis of Wincheſter: Sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke.

His ambition.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all encreaſe of poſſeſſions and titles, either to himſelf or his partizans, as ſteps only to farther acquiſitions. Finding that Somerſet, though degraded from his dignity, and even leſſened in the public opinion by his

[m] Heylin, p. 109.

his fruitless conduct, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman: He sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: At other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: His treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him: They revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested[n]: And Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him. CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

In one night, the duke of Somerset, Lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody. Next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster-day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: But, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by Lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's 16th Octob.

[n] Heylin, p. 112.

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Palmer's teſtimony with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confeſſed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Trial of Somerſet.

Somerſet was brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, created high ſteward. Twenty-ſeven peers compoſed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency ſhould have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerſet was accuſed of high treaſon on account of the projected inſurrections, and of felony in laying a deſign to murder privy-counſellors.

We have a very imperfect account of all ſtate trials during that age, which is a ſenſible defect in our hiſtory: But it appears that ſome more regularity was obſerved in the management of this proſecution than had uſually been employed in like caſes. The witneſſes were at leaſt examined by the privy-council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner (circumſtances required by the ſtrict principles of equity), their depoſitions were given in to the jury. The proof ſeems to have been lame with regard to the treaſonable part of the charge; and Somerſet's defence was ſo ſatisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: The intention alone of aſſaulting the privy-counſellors was ſupported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The priſoner himſelf confeſſed that he had expreſſed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any reſolution on that head: And when he received ſentence, he aſked pardon of thoſe peers for the deſigns which he had hearkened to againſt them. The people, by whom Somerſet was beloved, hearing

1ſt Decemb.

the first part of his sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: But their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony [o]. CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from affection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness, that they entertained, to the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon [p]. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, seems, in general, to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness, he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences to which that age was so much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: Great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, was, on some pretence, tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loss of

1552. His execution. 22d Jan.

[o] Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606. Hollingshed, p. 1067.

[p] Hayward, p. 324, 325.

CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to ſhare that honour [q]. Lord Rich, chancellor, was alſo compelled to reſign his office, on the diſcovery of ſome marks of friendſhip which he had ſhown to Somerſet.

22d Jan. A parliament.

The day after the execution of Somerſet, a ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorized; and penalties were enacted againſt all thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip [r]. To uſe the maſs had already been prohibited under ſevere penalties; ſo that the reformers, it appears, whatever ſcope they had given to their own private judgment, in diſputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were reſolved not to allow the ſame privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was at that time, equally unknown to all ſects and parties. To diſſent from the religion of the magiſtrate, was univerſally conceived to be as criminal as to queſtion his title, or rebel againſt his authority.

A law was enacted againſt uſury; that is, againſt taking any intereſt for money [s]. This act was the remains of ancient ſuperſtition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itſelf, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of intereſt, notwithſtanding the law, was at this time 14 per cent [t].

A bill was introduced by the miniſtry into the houſe of lords, renewing thoſe rigorous ſtatutes of treaſon, which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high ſtation, ſtood moſt expoſed to theſe tempeſts of ſtate, yet had they

q Stowe, p. 608.
r 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1.
s Ibid. c. 20.
t Hayward, p. 318.

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they ſo little regard to public ſecurity, or even to their own true intereſt, that they paſſed the bill with only one diſſenting voice[u]. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that paſſed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whoever ſhould call the king or any of his heirs, named in the ſtatute of the 35th of the laſt reign, heretic, ſchiſmatic, tyrant, infidel, or uſurper of the crown, ſhould forfeit, for the firſt offence, their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond, ſhould incur a *præmunire*; for the third, ſhould be attainted for treaſon. But if any ſhould unadviſedly utter ſuch a ſlander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was, for the firſt offence, to be held a traitor[w]. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were profeſſedly of different religions; and religions which threw on each other the imputation of hereſy, ſchiſm, idolatry, profaneneſs, blaſphemy, wickedneſs, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almoſt impoſſible, therefore, for the people, if they ſpoke at all on theſe ſubjects, not to fall into the crime, ſo ſeverely puniſhed by the ſtatute; and the jealouſy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treaſons, ſent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-ſighted.

The commons annexed to this bill a clauſe which was of more importance than the bill itſelf, that no one ſhould be convicted of any kind of treaſon, unleſs the crime were proved by the oaths of two witneſſes, confronted with the priſoner. The lords, for ſome time, ſcrupled to paſs this clauſe, though conformable to the moſt obvious principles of equity. But the members of that houſe truſted for protection to their

[u] Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 190.
[w] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

CHAP. XXIV.

1552.

present personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of laws.

The house of peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor; but the commons, not chusing that a money-bill should begin in the upper-house, framed a new act to the same purpose. By this act, the church-wardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was impowered to proceed against them. Such large discretionary powers, entrusted to the prelates, seem as proper an object of jealousy as the authority assumed by the peers [x].

There was another occasion, in which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops. They impowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and Holidays [y]. But these were unguarded concessions granted to the church: The general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the ecclesiastics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property. Many clergymen, about this time, were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or tailors, and some kept ale-houses [z]. The bishops themselves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but

x 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2. y Ibid. cap. 3. z Burnet, vol. ii. p. 202.

but to a ſenſe of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be ſacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any ſevere treatment during the adminiſtration of Somerſet; but when Northumberland gained the aſcendant, he was thrown into priſon; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a deſign of ſeizing the revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of acquiring to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he was reſolved, in order to effect his purpoſe, to deprive Tonſtal of his biſhopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon, was introduced into the houſe of peers againſt the prelate; and it paſſed with the oppoſition only of Lord Stourton, a zealous Catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and ſincere friendſhip to the biſhop of Durham. But when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they required, that witneſſes ſhould be examined, that Tonſtal ſhould be allowed to defend himſelf, and that he ſhould be confronted with his accuſers: And when theſe demands were refuſed, they rejected the bill.

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This equity, ſo unuſual in the parliament during that age, was aſcribed by Northumberland and his partizans, not to any regard for liberty and juſtice, but to the prevalence of Somerſet's faction in a houſe of commons, which, being choſen during the adminiſtration of that nobleman, had been almoſt entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found, that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerſet and his accomplices, was alſo rejected by the commons, though it had paſſed the upper houſe. A reſolution was therefore taken to diſſolve the parliament, which had ſitten during this whole reign; and ſoon after to ſummon a new one. 15th April.

CHAP. XXXV.

1554. A new parliament.

Northumberland, in order to ensure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practised, or even imagined, in an age, when there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure "is, that where our privy council, or any of them "shall, in our behalf, recommend, within their ju-"risdiction, men of learning and wisdom; in such "cases, their directions shall be regarded and follow-"ed, as tending to the same end which we desire, "that is, to have this assembly composed of the per-"sons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and "good counsel[a]." Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties; Sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; Sir William Fitzwilliams and Sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of *congé d'elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not the whole of the kingdom.

It is remarkable, that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as scarcely to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most

[a] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorial, vol. ii. p. 394.

most trivial matter, is the only person that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1553. 18 March.

The parliament answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonstal had in the interval been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was, by act of parliament, divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then usual with the courtiers, whenever a bishopric became vacant.

The commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: They granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. To render this present the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, "for involving the king in "wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much "debt, embasing the coin, and giving occasion for "a most terrible rebellion [b]."

The debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the king's use [c]: Yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds [d]; and great dilapidations were, at the same time, made

b 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12.
c Heylin, p. 95. 132.
d Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 344.

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of the royal demeſnes. The young prince ſhowed, among other virtues, a diſpoſition to frugality, which, had he lived, would ſoon have retrieved theſe loſſes: But, as his health was declining very faſt, the preſent emptineſs of the exchequer was a ſenſible obſtacle to the execution of thoſe projects, which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the proſpect of Edward's approaching end.

Succeſſion changed.

That nobleman repreſented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm ſtate of health made ſuſceptible of any impreſſion, that his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: And though Henry by his will had reſtored them to a place in the ſucceſſion, the nation would never ſubmit to ſee the throne of England filled by a baſtard: That they were the king's ſiſters by the half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and ſucceſſors: That the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had loſt by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that, as ſhe was betrothed to the dauphin, ſhe would, by her ſucceſſion, render England, as ſhe had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain conſequence of his ſiſter Mary's ſucceſſion, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the Proteſtant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the uſurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: That, fortunately for England, the ſame order of ſucceſſion, which juſtice required, was alſo the moſt conformable to public intereſt; and there was not on any ſide any juſt ground for doubt or deliberation: That when theſe three princeſſes were excluded by ſuch ſolid reaſons, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, elder daughter of the French queen and the

duke

duke of Suffolk: That the next heir of the marchioneſs was the Lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable character, accompliſhed by the beſt education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: And that even, if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to pretend, the king was poſſeſſed of the ſame power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Theſe reaſonings made impreſſion on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the Proteſtant religion made him apprehend the conſequences, if ſo bigotted a Catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the Lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him, that he could not exclude the one ſiſter on account of illegitimacy, without giving alſo an excluſion to the other. CH. XXV. 1553.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his ſcheme. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk by a ſecond venter having died this ſeaſon, of the ſweating ſickneſs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to beſtow it on the marquis of Dorſet. By means of this favour and of others, which he conferred upon him, he perſuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the ducheſs, to give their daughter, the Lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth ſon, the Lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himſelf by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the Lady Catherine Gray, ſecond daughter of Suffolk, and Lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to Lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Huntingdon[e]. Theſe marriages were ſolemnized with great pomp and feſtivity; and the people, who hated North-

[e] Heylin, p. 199. Stowe, p. 609.

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Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing their indignation at ſeeing ſuch public demonſtrations of joy, during the languiſhing ſtate of the young prince's health.

Edward had been ſeized in the foregoing year, firſt with the meaſles, then with the ſmall-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both theſe diſtempers, the nation entertained hopes, that they would only ſerve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progreſs through ſome parts of the kingdom. It was ſuſpected, that he had there overheated himſelf in exerciſe: He was ſeized with a cough, which proved obſtinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: Several fatal ſymptoms of a conſumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that, as the ſeaſon advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men ſaw with great concern his bloom and vigour inſenſibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health, from the time that Lord Robert Dudley had been put about him, in quality of gentleman of the bed-chamber.

The king's ſickneſs.

The languiſhing ſtate of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all, except his own emiſſaries, from about the king: He himſelf attended him with the greateſt aſſiduity: He pretended the moſt anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all theſe artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final conſent to the ſettlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and ſolicitor-general, were ſummoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They heſitated to obey; and deſired time to conſider

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ſider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The ſettlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in conſequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, paſſed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of ſucceſſion. The judges pleaded theſe reaſons before the council. They urged, that ſuch a patent as was intended would be intirely invalid; that it would ſubject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counſellor who ſigned it, to the pains of treaſon; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving ſanction to the new ſettlement, and freeing its partizans from danger, was to ſummon a parliament, and to obtain the conſent of that aſſembly. The king ſaid, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purpoſed to have his ſettlement ratified; but in the mean time, he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges, that their refuſal would ſubject all of them to the pains of treaſon. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and ſaid that he would in his ſhirt fight any man in ſo juſt a cauſe as that of Lady Jane's ſucceſſion. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and thoſe which aroſe from the violence of preſent power and authority [f].

The arguments were canvaſſed in ſeveral different meetings between the council and the judges; and no ſolution could be found of the difficulties. At laſt, Montague propoſed an expedient, which ſatisfied both his brethren and the counſellors. He deſired that a ſpecial commiſſion ſhould be paſſed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new

[f] Fuller, book viii. p. 2.

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new ſettlement of the crown; and that a pardon ſhould immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the biſhop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal affixed to it, this prelate required, that all the judges ſhould previouſly ſign it. Goſnald at firſt refuſed; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the conſtancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous Proteſtant, preferred juſtice on this occaſion to the prejudices of his party, could not be ſhaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater ſecurity, that all the privy counſellors ſhould ſet their hands to the patent: The intrigues of Northumberland or the fears of his violence were ſo prevalent, that the counſellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone heſitated during ſome time, but at laſt yielded to the earneſt and pathetic entreaties of the king[g]. Cecil, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, pretended afterwards, that he only ſigned as witneſs to the king's ſubſcription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were ſet aſide; and the crown was ſettled on the heirs of the ducheſs of Suffolk: For the ducheſs herſelf was content to give place to her daughters.

21ſt June.

After this ſettlement was made, with ſo many inauſpicious circumſtances, Edward viſibly declined every day; and ſmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worſe, his phyſicians were diſmiſſed by Northumberland's advice and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little time, to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms encreaſed to

[g] Cranm. Mem. p. 295.

to the moſt violent degree: He felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. CHAP. XXXV. 1553. And Death. 6th July.

All the Engliſh hiſtorians dwell with pleaſure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He poſſeſſed mildneſs of diſpoſition, application to ſtudy and buſineſs, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juſtice. He ſeems only to have contracted, from his education, and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoſſeſſion in matters of religion, which made him incline ſomewhat to bigotry and perſecution: But as the bigotry of Proteſtants, leſs governed by prieſts, lies under more reſtraints than that of Catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the leſs to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

MARY.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen——Deserted by the people——The queen proclaimed and acknowledged——Northumberland executed——Catholic religion restored——A parliament——Deliberations with regard to the queen's marriage——Queen's marriage with Philip——Wyat's insurrection——Suppressed——Execution of Lady Jane Gray——A parliament——Philip's arrival in England.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

THE title of the Princess Mary, after the demise of her brother, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections started by the Lady Jane's partizans, were new and unheard-of by the nation. Though all the Protestants, and even many of the Catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined that their issue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever esteemed just and natural.

natural. The public had long been familiarized to these sentiments: During all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful successor: And though the Protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred, universally entertained against the Dudleys [g], who, men foresaw, would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession, had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses had been sacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprizes. The general veneration also paid to the memory of Henry VIII. prompted the nation to defend the rights of his posterity; and the miseries of the ancient civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodshed and confusion.

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Northumberland, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required the assistance of their counsel and the consolation of their company [h]. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the Lady Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the

[g] Sleiden, lib. 25.

[h] Heylin, p. 154.

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the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel ſent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death and of the conſpiracy formed againſt her[i]: She immediately made haſte to retire; and ſhe arrived, by quick journies, firſt at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk, where ſhe purpoſed to embark and eſcape to Flanders, in caſe ſhe ſhould find it impoſſible to defend her right of ſucceſſion. She wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon. And ſhe diſpatched a meſſage to the council; by which ſhe notified to them, that her brother's death was no longer a ſecret to her, promiſed them pardon for paſt offences, and required them immediately to give orders for the proclaiming her in London[k].

Northumberland found that farther diſſimulation was fruitleſs: He went to Sion-houſe[l], accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the Lady Jane, who reſided there, with all the reſpect uſually paid to the ſovereign. Jane was, in a great meaſure, ignorant of theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurprize, that ſhe received intelligence of them[m]. She was a lady of an amiable perſon, an engaging diſpoſition, accompliſhed parts; and being of an equal age with the late king, ſhe had received all her education with him, and ſeemed even to poſſeſs greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, beſides modern tongues; had paſſed moſt of her time in an application to learning; and expreſſed a great indifference for other occupations and amuſements, uſual with her

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen.

i Burnet, vol. ii. p. 233.
k Fox, vol. iii. p. 14.
l Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 10.
m Godwin in Kennet, p. 329. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 234.

her ſex and ſtation. Roger Aſcham, tutor to the Lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a viſit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the reſt of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the ſingularity of her choice, ſhe told him, that ſhe received more pleaſure from that author than the others could reap from all their ſport and gaiety [n]. Her heart, full of this paſſion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderneſs towards her huſband, who was deſerving of her affections, had never opened itſelf to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowiſe agreeable to her. She even refuſed to accept of the preſent; pleaded the preferable title of the two princeſſes; expreſſed her dread of the conſequences attending an enterprize ſo dangerous, not to ſay ſo criminal; and deſired to remain in the private ſtation in which ſhe was born. Overcome at laſt by the entreaties, rather than the reaſons, of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her huſband, ſhe ſubmitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquiſh her own judgment. It was then uſual for the kings of England, after their acceſſion, to paſs the firſt days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new ſovereign. All the counſellors were obliged to attend her to that fortreſs; and by this means became, in reality, priſoners in the hands of Northumberland; whoſe will they were neceſſitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but theſe orders were executed only in London, and the neighbourhood. No applauſe enſued: The people heard the proclamation with ſilence and concern: Some even expreſſed their ſcorn and contempt: and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was ſeverely puniſhed for this offence. The

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n Aſcham's works p. 222, 223.

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Proteſtant teachers themſelves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitleſs; and Ridley, biſhop of London, who preached a ſermon to that purpoſe, wrought no effect upon his audience.

The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidſt their tenders of duty, expreſſing apprehenſions for their religion; but when ſhe aſſured them, that ſhe never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enliſted themſelves in her cauſe with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suſſex, the eldeſt ſons of Lord Wharton and Lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Sir Henry Jernegan, perſons whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers[o]. Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commiſſion from the council to make levies for the Lady Jane in Buckinghamſhire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thouſand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet, which had been ſent by Northumberland to lie off the coaſt of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a ſtorm, was engaged to declare for that princeſs.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, ſaw at laſt the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himſelf. He had levied forces, which were aſſembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counſellors, whoſe compliance, he knew, had been entirely the reſult of fear or artifice, he was reſolved to keep near the perſon of the Lady Jane, and ſend Suffolk to command the army. But the counſellors, who wiſhed to remove him[p], working on the filial tenderneſs of Jane,

o Heylin, p. 160. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 237. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 159. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15.

p Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p.

June, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be expoſed; and repreſented, that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly ſuppreſſing a rebellion in thoſe parts, was more proper to command in that enterprize. The duke himſelf, who knew the ſlender capacity of Suffolk, began to think, that none but himſelf was able to encounter the preſent danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counſellors attended on him at his departure with the higheſt proteſtations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy [q]. As he went along, he remarked the diſaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iſſue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," ſaid he to Lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one "who cries, *God ſpeed you*[r]!" CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

The duke had no ſooner reached St Edmond's-bury, than he found his army, which did not exceed ſix thouſand men, too weak to encounter the queen's [s], which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, deſiring them to ſend him a reinforcement; and the counſellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themſelves from confinement. They left the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being aſſembled in Baynard's caſtle, a houſe belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of ſhaking off his uſurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by repreſenting the injuſtice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprize which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only method of making atonement for their paſt offences, was by a ſpeedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful ſovereign [t]. This

Lady Jane deſerted by the people.

q Hayln, p. 161. Baker, p. 315. Hollingſhed, p. 1086.
r Speed, p. 816.
s Godwin, p. 331.
t Godwin, p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii.

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motion was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The Lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her[u]: And the messengers, who were sent to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already proclamed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction[w]. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the Lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper[x].

The queen proclaimed and acknowledged.

The queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arrested him, and abjectly begged his life[y]. At the same time were committed the earl of Warwick his eldest son, Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke

u Godwin, p. 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2.
w Stowe, p. 612.
x Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240. Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613.
y Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, p. 315. Hollingshed, p. 1088.

duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Gray, and Lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers, appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself, could sit as his judges? Being told, that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons, not lying under any sentence of attainder, were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury [z]; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profession of the Catholic religion, and told the people, that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors: Whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped, by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family [a]. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprize against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the Lady Jane and Lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting

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22d Aug. Northumberland executed.

[z] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Hollingshed, p. 1089.

[a] Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243. Stowe, p. 614.

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it in execution. The youth and innocence of the perſons, neither of whom had reached their ſeventeenth year, pleaded ſufficiently in their favour.

When Mary firſt arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner during all the laſt reign; Courtney, ſon of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the Catholic cauſe, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection [b]. They were all of them reſtored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithſtanding that it had paſſed in parliament, was repreſented as null and invalid; becauſe, among other informalities, no ſpecial matter had been alledged againſt him, except wearing a coat of arms, which he and his anceſtors, without giving any offence, had always made uſe of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney ſoon after received the title of Earl of Devonſhire; and though educated in ſuch cloſe confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he ſoon acquired all the accompliſhments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a conſiderable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty [c]. Beſides performing all thoſe popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herſelf with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with ſome exceptions, and by remitting the ſubſidy voted to her brother by the laſt parliament [d].

The joy ariſing from the ſucceſſion of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanour of the ſovereign,

b Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Hollingſhed, p. 1088.

c Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 246, 247.

d Stowe, p. 616.

reign, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the Protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princess being educated with her mother, had imbibed the strongest attachment to the Catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence, she believed, all the misfortunes of her family had originally sprung. The discouragements which she lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to encrease her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations, which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread, not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere she discovered her intentions. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or, what is nearly the same, by the sentence of commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it a-new by letters patent, and replaced Tonstal in his regalities as well as in his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preach- Catholic religion restored.

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ers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license; and it was easy to foresee, that none but the Catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hoopet of Gloecester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlisted themselves in her service, had given them, of maintaining the reformed religion: One, in particular, was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw, that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security, when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

The merits of Cranmer towards the queen, during the reign of Henry, had been considerable; and he had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made sufficient atonement, by his sufferings in defence of the Catholic cause.

The

The primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal, that he brought on himself the last violence and persecution. A report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, That as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: That this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and, in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: And that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures, or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies [f]. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted, in concurring with the Lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

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Peter Martyr, seeing a persecution gathering against the reformers, desired leave to withdraw [g]; and

[f] Fox, vol. iii. p. 94. Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. ii. No. 8. Cranm. Mem. p. 305.

[g] Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 3. Cranm. Mem. p. 317.

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and while some zealous Catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey: But as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill[h]. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge[i]. John a Lasco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign Protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English Protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformation.

5th Oct. A parliament.

During this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by Protestants from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. A zealous reformer[k] pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the authority of this writer is inconsiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government seldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained such numbers devoted, by opinion or affection, to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give such candidates the preference in most elections; and all those who hesitated to comply with the court religion, rather declined taking a seat, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority

h Heylin, p. 26.
i Saunders de Schism. Anglic.
k Beale. But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narrative, says nothing of the matter. See vol. iii. p. 16.

jority of the commons would be obsequious to Ma- CHAP.
's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to XXXVI.
the court, from interest or expectations, little opposi- 1553.
tion was expected from that quarter.

In opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament [l]. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house [m]. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery, which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII [n]. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer [o], whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote [p]. The attainder of the

l Fox, vol. iii. p. 19.
m Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252.
n Mariæ, sess. i. c. 1. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clause of 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was lost, which required the confronting of two witnesses, in order to prove any treason.
o Mariæ, sess. 2. c. 1.
p 1 Mariæ, sess. 2. c. 1.

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the duke of Norfolk was reverſed; and this act of juſtice was more reaſonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid, without farther authority. Many clauſes of the riot act, paſſed in the late reign, were revived: A ſtep which eluded, in a great meaſure, the popular ſtatute enacted at the firſt meeting of parliament.

Notwithſtanding the compliance of the two houſes with the queen's inclinations, they had ſtill a reſerve in certain articles; and her choice of a huſband, in particular, was of ſuch importance to national intereſt, that they were determined not to ſubmit tamely, in that reſpect, to her will and pleaſure. There were three marriages [q], concerning which it was ſuppoſed that Mary had deliberated after her acceſſion. The firſt perſon propoſed to her, was Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who, being an Engliſhman, nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging perſon and addreſs, he had viſibly gained on the queen's affections [r], and hints were dropped him of her favourable diſpoſitions towards him [s]. But that nobleman neglected theſe overtures; and ſeemed rather to attach himſelf to the Lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and agreeable converſation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her ſiſter. This choice occaſioned a great coldneſs in Mary towards Devonſhire; and made her break out in a declared animoſity againſt Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had ſunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, ſhe wanted not a pretence for repreſenting the birth of her ſiſter as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princeſs had made

q Thuan. lib. ii. c. 3.
r Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 147. 163. 214, 215. vol. iii. p. 27.
s Godwin, p. 339.

made some difficulty in disguising her sentiments, vio- CHAP. XXXVI.
lent menaces had been employed to bring her to com- 1553.
pliance [t]. But when the queen found, that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which, perhaps, touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger [u].

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the Catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III. [w]; the queen's affection for the countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the hurry of business [x]. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: But as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of Cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office [y].

These

[t] Dep. de Noailles, vol. ii. passim.
[u] Heylin, p. 31. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 255.
[w] Father Paul, book iii.
[x] Heylin, p. 31.
[y] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 258.

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These two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which, during her own distresses, had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V. who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercised his power in such an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch [z]. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the same principle he met with that opposition, which overthrew his grandeur, and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice, and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the Protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, he suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The Protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor to such difficulties, that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which insured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour, he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Metz, with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprize in person, and seemed determined, at all hazards, to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guise, who defended Metz, with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to persevere any longer. He

z Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 17.

retired with the remains of his army into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverse of fortune, which, in his declining years, had so fatally shaken him. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

No sooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped, by this incident, to balance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous issue. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to Mary, who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely with her mother's family, to which she was ever strongly attached, readily embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: And Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time, he represented, both to her and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed, that the parliament, amidst all their compliances, had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed at present determined to grant no farther concessions in favour of the Catholic religion: That though they might make a sacrifice to their sovereign of some speculative principles, which they did not well comprehend, or of some rites, which seemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed such strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions

of

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of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to ſubmit to its authority: That the danger of reſuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepoſſeſſions, which were but too general among the people, againſt the doctrine and worſhip of the Catholic church: That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation againſt the Spaniſh alliance; and if that point were urged, at the ſame time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and inſurrection: That the marriage, being once completed, would give authority to the queen's meaſures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which ſhe was engaged: And that it was even neceſſary previouſly to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the Engliſh, and ſuch as would ſeem to enſure to them their independency, and the entire poſſeſſion of their ancient laws and privileges[z].

The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, aſſented to all theſe reaſons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by repreſenting the neceſſity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that Cardinal Pole, more ſincere in his religious opinions, and leſs guided by the maxims of human policy, after having ſent contrary advice to the queen, had ſet out on his journey to England, where he was to exerciſe his legantine commiſſion; he thought proper to ſtop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's conſent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage, meanwhile, proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of eſpouſing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the conceſſions which they had already made,

z Burnet, vol. ii. p. 261.

were alarmed to hear, that she was resolved to CHAP. XXXVI. 1553. 6th Dec.
contract a foreign alliance; and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

A convocation had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very readily made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which, of all others, they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The Protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined, that they had obtained some advantage, when, in the course of the debate, they obliged the Catholics to avow, that, according to their doctrine, Christ had, in his last supper, held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself [a]. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: The Romanists maintained, that *their* champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to reject such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument

[a] Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.

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ment to defend their baffled principles [b]. The iſſue of the debate was very different from what is appointed to be a few years before, in a famous conference, held at the ſame place, during the reign of Edward.

1554. After the parliament and convocation were diſmiſſed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated, in moſt places, by the zeal of the Catholics, countenanced by government, were ſtill more openly put in execution: The maſs was every where re-eſtabliſhed; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any ſpiritual office. It has been aſſerted by ſome writers, that three-fourths of the clergy were, at this time, deprived of their livings; though other hiſtorians, more accurate [c], have eſtimated the number of ſufferers to be far ſhort of this proportion. A viſitation was appointed, in order to reſtore more perfectly the maſs and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commiſſioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of ſupremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice [d]. It is to be obſerved, that this oath had been eſtabliſhed by the laws of Henry VIII. which were ſtill in force.

Queen's marriage with Philip.

This violent and ſudden change of religion inſpired the Proteſtants with great diſcontent, and even affected indifferent ſpectators with concern, by the hardſhips to which ſo many individuals were on that account expoſed. But the Spaniſh match was a point of more general concern, and diffuſed univerſal apprehenſions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poſſible for the intereſt and ſecurity, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that though Philip ſhould have the title of king,

b Mem. Cranm. p. 354. Heylin, p. 50.
c Harmer, p. 138.
d Collier, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35. Sleidan, lib. 25.

the administration should be entirely in the ; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoy- any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand crowns a-year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip [e]. Such was the treaty of marriage signed by Count Egmont, and three other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor [f]. 15th Jan.

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These articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to the nation: It was universally said, that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded, that he had no serious intention of observing them: That the usual fraud and ambition of that monarch might assure the nation of such a conduct; and his son Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, sullenness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: That England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependent dominions: That the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burden of Spanish tyranny; and throughout all the new conquests in America there had been displayed scenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind: That the inquisition was a

e Rymer, xv. p. 377.

f Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 299.

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tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and institutions, be introduced into England: And that the divided sentiments of the people with regard to religion would subject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the most abject servitude [g].

These complaints being diffused every where, prepared the people for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the consequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hostilities with the emperor, refused to concur in any proposal for an insurrection, lest he should afford Mary a pretence for declaring war against him [h]. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that, as the evils of the Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a distance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some persons, however, more turbulent than the rest, believed that it would be safer to prevent than to redress grievances; and they formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat purposed to raise Kent, Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the Lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties [i]. Carew's impatience or apprehensions engaged him to break the concert, and to rise in arms before the day appointed: He was soon suppressed by the earl of Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the town, with his brothers, Lord Thomas, and Lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick

Wiat's insurrection.

g Heylin, p. 32. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 263. Godwin, p. 339.

h Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 249. vol. iii. p. 17. 58.

i Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 340.

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wick and Leiceſter, where his intereſt lay; but he was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of 300 horſe, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers, and being diſcovered in his concealment, he was carried priſoner to London[h]. Wiat was at firſt more ſucceſsful in his attempt; and having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone in Kent, againſt the queen's evil counſellors, and againſt the Spaniſh match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his ſtandard. The duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jernegan, was ſent againſt him, at the head of the guards and ſome other troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by Bret: And he came within ſight of the rebels at Rocheſter, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to deſert from them; but having ſecretly gained Bret, theſe two malcontents ſo wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deſerted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enſlave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took ſhelter in the city[i].

After this proof of the diſpoſitions of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly Proteſtants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed: He led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen, that ſhe ſhould put the Tower into his hands, ſhould deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and, in order to aſſure the liberty of the nation, ſhould immediately marry an Engliſhman. Finding that the bridge was ſecured againſt him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingſton, where he paſſed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently waſted ſo much

h Fox, vol. iii. p. 30. Stowe, p. 619. Baker, p. 318. Hollingſhed, p. 1094.
i Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 341.

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much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingſton, that the critical ſeaſon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loſt: Though he entered Weſtminſter without reſiſtance, his followers, finding that no perſon of note joined him, inſenſibly fell off, and he was at laſt ſeized near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley[m]. Four hundred perſons are ſaid to have ſuffered for this rebellion[n]: Four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were diſmiſſed. Wiat was condemned and executed. As it had been reported, that, on his examination, he had accuſed the Lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire as accomplices, he took care on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any ſhare in his rebellion.

6th Feb.

Inſurrection ſuppreſſed.

The Lady Elizabeth had been, during ſome time, treated with great harſhneſs by her ſiſter; and many ſtudied inſtances of diſcouragement and diſreſpect had been practiſed againſt her. She was ordered to take place at court after the counteſs of Lenox and the ducheſs of Suffolk, as if ſhe were not legitimate[o]: Her friends were diſcountenanced on every occaſion: And while her virtues, which were now become eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation[p], the malevolence of the queen ſtill diſcovered itſelf every day by freſh ſymptoms, and obliged the princeſs to retire into the country. Mary ſeized the opportunity of this rebellion; and, hoping to involve her ſiſter in ſome appearance of guilt, ſent for her under a ſtrong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be ſtrictly examined by the council. But the

m Fox, vol. iii. p. 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270. Stowe, p. 621.

n Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 124.

o Ibid. vol. ii. p. 273. 288.

p Ibid. p. 273.

the public declaration made by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence which might have offered; and the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her[q]. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard, at Woodstoke[r]. The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay castle. CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal to the Lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband: The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malcontents seemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the Lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the Lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines, who harassed her with perpetual disputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be persuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The Lady Jane had presence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister[s] in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain,

q Godwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273. Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. 105. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 85.

r Depeches des Noailles, vol. iii. p. 226.

s Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166.

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tain in every fortune, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the day of her execution, her huſband, Lord Guildford, deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed her conſent, and informed him by a meſſage, that the tenderneſs of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conſtancy which their approaching end required of them: Their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, diſappointment, and misfortunes could no longer have acceſs to them, or diſturb their eternal felicity [t].

Execution of Lady Jane Gray.

It had been intended to execute the Lady Jane and Lord Guildford together on the ſame ſcaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that ſhe ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution; and having given him from the window ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart; and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports which ſhe heard of the conſtancy of his end, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle. Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her table-book, on which ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in Engliſh [u]. The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that, if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth at leaſt,

[t] Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319. [u] Heylin, p. 167.

haſt, and her imprudence were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhow her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe made a ſpeech to the by-ſtanders; in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame wholly on herſelf, without uttering one complaint againſt the ſeverity with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy: That ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: That ſhe willingly received death, as the only ſatisfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhow, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to atone for that diſobedience, into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: That ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling inſtrument, of the ambition of others: And that the ſtory of her life, ſhe hoped, might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence excuſes not great miſdeeds, if they tend anywiſe to the deſtruction of the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women; and, with a ſteady ſerene countenance, ſubmitted herſelf to the executioner [w].

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The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed ſoon after; and would have met with more compaſſion, had not his temerity been the cauſe of his daughter's untimely end. Lord Thomas Gray loſt his life for the ſame crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no ſatisfactory evidence againſt him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The queen was ſo enraged at

[w] Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii. p. 36, 37. Hollingſhed, p. 1099.

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at the disappointment, that, instead of releasing him as the law required, she re-committed him to the Tower, and kept him in close confinement during some time. But her resentment stopped not here: The jury, being summoned before the council, were all sent to prison, and afterwards fined, some of them a thousand pounds, others two thousand a-piece[x]. This violence proved fatal to several; among others to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion. And, finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles[y].

A parliament. 5th April.

Though the government laboured under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an encrease from the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The emperor, also, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members: A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, resumed her title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor,

x Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker, p. 320. Hollingshed, p. 1104. 1121. Strpye, vol. iii. p. 120. Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 173.

y Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 98.

cellor, opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech; in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chuſing a huſband for herſelf; obſerved how proper a uſe ſhe had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, deſcended from the houſe of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII.'s poſterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the Lady Elizabeth. He added, that, in order to obviate the inconveniencies which might ariſe from different pretenders, it was neceſſary to inveſt the queen, by law, with a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and of appointing her ſucceſſor: A power, he ſaid, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, ſince it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII [z]. CHAP. XXXVI. 1554.

The parliament was much diſpoſed to gratify the queen in all her deſires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation, were in ſuch viſible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which ſhe bore to the Lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the houſe of Auſtria: They were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to poſtpone all conſiderations of juſtice or national intereſt to the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion: They remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his ſpeech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's ſiſter; and they thence concluded that a deſign was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected that Mary, if inveſted with ſuch a power as ſhe required, would make a will in her huſband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spaniſh monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with theſe projects, as they heard that Philip's deſcent from the houſe

[z] Depeches de Noailles.

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house of Lancaster was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage [a], which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the passing of any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill, introduced for that purpose, was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law in which they declared, "that her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy "the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all "the pre-eminencies, dignities, and rights thereto "belonging, in as large and ample a manner after "her marriage as before, without any title or claim "accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant "by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means [b]."

A law passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward [c]. The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Tonstal in possession of that see: But though it was usual, at that time, for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against heresy and erroneous preaching: But none of these laws could pass the two

[a] 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2.
[b] Ibid. cap. 1.
[c] Ibid. cap. 3.

two houſes: A proof that the parliament had reſerved even in their conceſſions with regard to religion, about which they ſeem to have been leſs ſcrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not ſerve all her purpoſes, finiſhed the ſeſſion by diſſolving them. CHAP. XXXVI. 1554. 5th May.

Mary's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected. This princeſs, who had lived ſo many years in a very reſerved and private manner, without any proſpect or hopes of a huſband, was ſo ſmitten with affection for her young conſort, whom ſhe had never ſeen, that ſhe waited with the utmoſt impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obſtacle was to her a ſource of anxiety and diſcontent [d]. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and ſhe could not conceal her vexation, that, though ſhe brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with ſuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a ſingle letter [e]. Her fondneſs was but the more encreaſed by this ſupercilious treatment; and when ſhe found that her ſubjects had entertained the greateſt averſion for the event to which ſhe directed her fondeſt wiſhes, ſhe made the whole Engliſh nation the object of her reſentment. A ſquadron, under the command of Lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral, informing her that the diſcontents ran very high among the ſeamen, and that it was not ſafe for Philip to entruſt himſelf in their hands, ſhe gave orders to diſmiſs them [f]. She then dreaded leſt the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, might intercept her huſband; and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions. Her health, and even her underſtanding, were viſibly hurt

d Strype, vol. iii. p. 125.
e Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 248.
f Ibid. p. 220.

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hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension, lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip[g].

29th July. Philip's arrival in England.

At last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton[h]. A few days after, they were married in Westminster; and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner innaccessible[i]: But this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and securing his affections, was to render him master

g Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 222. 252, 253.

h Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 392. Godwin, p. 345. We are told by Sir William Monson, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board; because they had not lowered their topsails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas: A very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times.

i Baker, p. 320.

mistress of England. The interest and liberty of her people were considerations of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining this favourite point. She summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members[k]. The zeal of the Catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the Protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons, which was, in a great measure, to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the parliament, the title of *supreme head of the church*, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England[l]. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine powers from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act, reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and, after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the Apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance of their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that, since they were happily

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12th Nov.

k Mem. of Cranm. p. 544. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 154, 155.
l Burnet, vol. ii. p. 391. Strype, vol. iii. p. 155.

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happily uninfected with that criminal ſchiſm, they would intercede with the holy father for the abſolution and forgiveneſs of their penitent ſubjects [m]. The requeſt was eaſily granted. The legate, in the name of his holineſs, gave the parliament and kingdom abſolution, freed them from all cenſures, and received them again into the boſom of the church. The pope, then Julius III. being informed of theſe tranſactions, ſaid, that it was an unexampled inſtance of his felicity, to receive thanks from the Engliſh for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing [n].

Notwithſtanding the extreme zeal of thoſe times for and againſt Popery, the object always uppermoſt with the nobility and gentry, was their money and eſtates: They were not brought to make theſe conceſſions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated aſſurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the eccleſiaſtics ſhould never be enquired into; and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors [o]. But, not truſting altogether to theſe promiſes, the parliament took care, in the law itſelf [p], by which they repealed the former ſtatutes enacted againſt the pope's authority, to inſert a clauſe, in which, beſides beſtowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the ſchiſm, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The convocation alſo, in order to remove apprehenſions on that head, were induced to preſent a petition to the ſame purpoſe [q]; and the legate, in his maſter's name, ratified

all

m Fox, vol. iii. p. 3. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. Godwin, p. 247.

n Father Paul, lib. iv.

o Heylin, p. 41.

p 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8.

q Heylin, p. 43. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. Strype, vol. iii. p. 159.

all these transactions. It now appeared that, notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was for the present restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these arbitrary, powerful, and bigoted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately ravished from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practised, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition, to produce their effect on mankind [r].

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The parliament, having secured their own possessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens: They revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics [s], which had been rejected in the former parliament: They also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours [t]; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen [u]. Each parliament hitherto hath been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation [w]. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons,

[r] See note [R] at the end of the volume.

[s] 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 6.

[t] Ibid. c. 3. 9.

[u] Ibid. c. 10.

[w] Godwin, p. 348. Baker, p. 322.

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mons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: The usual animosity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom seemed to have given place, for the present, to their passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; Lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, Sir William St Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court [x]. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the Lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that, if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonshire also reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: But that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel [y]; and he soon after died at Padua, from poison, as is pretended, given him by the imperialists. He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

The queen's extreme desire of having issue had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied, that she felt the embryo stir in her womb [z]. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptist, who leaped in his mother's

x Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 287. Stowe, p. 626. Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 146, 147.

y Heylin, p. 40. Godwin, p. 349.

z Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 25.

mother's belly at the salutation of the virgin [a]. Dis- CHAP. XXXVI.
patches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event: Orders were issued to give public thanks: Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already settled [b]; for the Catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: And Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded, that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, 1554. 1553.
which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster, and dissolved them.

There happened an incident this session which must 16th Jan.
not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession, in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house [c]. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's Bench after the dissolution of parliament: Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: The rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue. Judging of the matter by the subsequent claims of the house of commons, and, indeed, by

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292. Godwin, p. 368.
[b] Heylin, p. 46.
[c] Coke's Institutes, part iv. p. 17. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 165.

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the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's ministers must be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in question by any house of commons which afterwards sat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambassador, says, that the queen threw several members into prison for their freedom of speech [d].

d Vol. v. p. 296.

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Reasons for and against Toleration——Persecutions——A parliament——the queen's extortions——The emperor resigns his crown——Execution of Cranmer——War with France——Battle of St Quintin——Calais taken by the French——Affairs of Scotland——Marriage of the Dauphin and the queen of Scots——A parliament——Death of the queen.

THE success which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, two points to which it was believed they bore an extreme aversion, had so raised his character for wisdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer suffered any opposition or controul. Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated, before the queen and council, by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain, by terror, the bold attempts of these zealots? Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the Catholic doctrines, and thought that

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no conſideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with ſuch important intereſts. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion ſubſervient to his ſchemes of ſafety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaiſance to Henry, he had ſhown, that, had he not been puſhed to extremity under the late minority, he was ſufficiently diſpoſed to make a ſacrifice of his principles to the eſtabliſhed theology. This was the well-known character of theſe two great counſellors; yet ſuch is the prevalence of temper above ſyſtem, that the benevolent diſpoſition of Pole led him to adviſe a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the ſevere manners of Gardiner inclined him to ſupport, by perſecution, that religion, which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference[c]. This circumſtance of public conduct was of the higheſt importance; and, from being the object of deliberation in the council, it ſoon became the ſubject of diſcourſe throughout the nation. We ſhall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each ſide ſupported, or might have ſupported, their ſcheme of policy; and ſhall diſplay the oppoſite reaſons which have been employed, with regard to an argument that ever has been, and ever will be ſo much canvaſſed.

Reaſons for and againſt toleration.

The practice of perſecution, ſaid the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the ſcandal of all religion; and the theological animoſity, ſo fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their oppoſite ſects, is a certain proof, that they have never reached any ſerious perſuaſion with regard to theſe remote and ſublime ſubjects. Even thoſe who are the moſt impatient of contradiction in other controverſies, are mild and moderate in compariſon of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect aſſurance in his own opinion,

[c] Heylin, p. 47.

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sion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the oppoſition and miſtakes of others. But while men zealouſly maintain what they neither clearly comprehend, nor entirely believe, they are ſhaken in their imagined faith, by the oppoſite perſuaſion, or even doubts of other men; and vent on their antagoniſts that impatience, which is the natural reſult of ſo diſagreeable a ſtate of the underſtanding. They then eaſily embrace any pretence for repreſenting opponents as impious and profane; and if they can alſo find a colour for connecting this violence with the intereſts of civil government, they can no longer be reſtrained from giving uncontrouled ſcope to vengeance and reſentment. But ſurely never enterprize was more unfortunate than that of founding perſecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the ſake of peace, to ſettle an entire uniformity of opinion, in queſtions which, of all others, are leaſt ſubjected to the criterion of human reaſon. The univerſal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious ſubjects, can be owing at firſt to the ſtupid ignorance alone and barbariſm of the people, who never indulge themſelves in any ſpeculation or enquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, ſo fondly ſought after, but by baniſhing for ever all curioſity and all improvement in ſcience and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a ſteady ſeverity, the firſt beginnings of controverſy; but beſides that this policy expoſes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of ſuperſtition, and the magiſtrate to the endleſs encroachments of eccleſiaſtics, it alſo renders men ſo delicate, that they can never endure to hear of oppoſition; and they will ſome time pay dearly for that falſe tranquillity, in which they have been ſo long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable

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of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people, who never were allowed to imagine that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence, when any event (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rise to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be said in favour of suppressing, by persecution, the first beginnings of heresy, no solid argument can be alledged for extending severity towards multitudes, or endeavouring, by capital punishments, to extirpate an opinion, which has diffused itself among men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpose intended; and serves only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to encrease the number of their proselytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and persecution inspires the sectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal: The prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishments: The glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers: Where a violent animosity is excited by oppression, men naturally pass from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: And the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are easily seduced to embrace those principles which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost supernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same man who, in other circumstances, would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his sect from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement,

ment, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily, at one blow, be eradicated, without leaving the seeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

Though these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtilty of human wit, that Gardiner, and the other enemies to toleration, were not reduced to silence; and they still found topics on which to maintain the controversy. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience, is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing, with certainty, the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison, under the shape of food, to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children, at least, ignorant of the dissimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is absurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspeakable importance, to plead the temporal

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temporal and frivolous intereſts of civil ſociety; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear ſo univerſally certain in favour of toleration as by ſome it is repreſented. Where ſects ariſe, whoſe fundamental principle on all ſides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magiſtrate left but to take part, and by rendering one ſect entirely prevalent, reſtore, at leaſt for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here ſickly, muſt not be treated as if it were in a ſtate of ſound health; and an affected neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may ſerve only to encourage the hopes of all the ſects, and keep alive their animoſity. The Proteſtants, far from tolerating the religion of their anceſtors, regard it as an impious and deteſtable idolatry; and, during the late minority, when they were entirely maſters, they enacted very ſevere, though not capital puniſhments againſt all exerciſe of the Catholic worſhip, and even againſt ſuch as barely abſtained from their profane rites and ſacraments. Nor are inſtances wanting of their endeavours to ſecure an imagined orthodoxy by the moſt rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptiſts to the ſtake: And if perſecution of any kind be admitted, the moſt bloody and violent will ſurely be allowed the moſt juſtifiable, as the moſt effectual. Impriſonments, fines, confiſcations, whippings, ſerve only to irritate the ſects, without diſabling them from reſiſtance: But the ſtake, the wheel, and the gibbet, muſt ſoon terminate in the extirpation or baniſhment of all the heretics inclined to give diſturbance, and in the entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion of the reſt.

The arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received;

received; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed[e], the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law, not to exercise violence against the Protestants, and desired her to consider his own example, who, after endeavouring, through his whole life, to extirpate heresy, had, in the end, reaped nothing but confusion and disappointment, the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the Catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, covered with the mantle of religion. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

The persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped, terror would bend to submission, and whose example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: But he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages, and all sects, do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus joining Violent persecutions in England.

[e] Burnet, vol. ii. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any such advice: For he himself was at this very time proceeding with great violence in persecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part i. lib. i.

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joining inſult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield [f].

Hooper, biſhop of Gloceſter, had been tried at the ſame time with Rogers; but was ſent to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance was contrived to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of conſolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving teſtimony, by his death, to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ſtill in his power to merit by a recantation: But he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment to which he was ſentenced. He ſuffered it in its full ſeverity: The wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: The faggots were green, and did not kindle eaſily: All his lower parts were conſumed, before his vitals were attacked: One of his hands dropped off: With the other he continued to beat his breaſt: He was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue, ſwollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy [g].

Sanders was burned at Coventry: A pardon was alſo offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt! "welcome everlaſting life!" Taylor, parſon of Hadley, was puniſhed by fire in that place, ſurrounded by his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When tied to the ſtake, he rehearſed a pſalm in Engliſh: One of his guards ſtruck him in the mouth, and bade him ſpeak

f Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302.

g Fox, vol. iii. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Godwin, p. 349.

speak Latin: Another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

There was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, enflamed with such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adversary's face, to shew the great detestation which he had entertained against that heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal: He said, that he was led to it, in order to relieve the sorrow conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any Christian[h]. Philpot was a Protestant; and falling now into the hands of people, as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. It seems to be almost a general rule, that, in all religions, except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom who would not also inflict it willingly on all that differ from him. The same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both.

The crime, for which almost all the Protestants were condemned, was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected, that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers[i]. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held

h Strype, vol. iii. p. 261. and Coll. No 58. i Heylin, p. 47, 48.

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held his hand to the candle, till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt [k].

1555. It is needleſs to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practiſed in England during the courſe of three years that theſe perſecutions laſted: The ſavage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient conſtancy on the other, are ſo ſimilar in all thoſe martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itſelf, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occaſion, ſo deteſtable, and at the ſame time ſo abſurd, as in theſe religious perſecutions, which ſink men below infernal ſpirits in wickedneſs, and below the beaſts in folly. A few inſtances only may be worth preſerving, in order, if poſſible, to warn zealous bigots, for ever to avoid ſuch odious and ſuch fruitleſs barbarity.

Ferrar, biſhop of St David's, was burned in his own dioceſe; and his appeal to Cardinal Pole was not attended to [l]. Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, formerly biſhop of Worceſter, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, periſhed together in the ſame flames at Oxford, and ſupported each other's conſtancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ſtake, called to his companion, "Be "of good cheer, brother; we ſhall this day kindle "ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in God ſhall "never be extinguiſhed." The executioners had been ſo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be aſcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy period to their tortures: The explo-ſion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age: Ridley continued alive during ſome time in the midſt of the flames [m].

One

k Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.
l Ibid. p. 276.
m Burnet, vol. ii. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a disguise, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded; but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities, if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial. Hunter, hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends, that, if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered, so supported him, that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired[l]. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

The tender sex itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage, in supporting the profession of it, against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances, which, even at that time, excited astonishment, by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture, that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it: But a magistrate, who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent[m].

The

[l] Fox, vol. iii. p. 265.
[m] Ibid. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 337.

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These persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing, contrary to the established religion: They were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames[n]. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians, for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole Protestant party, was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture the most conscientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against Popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret indignation against the persecutors. Repeated orders were sent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching out heretics; and, in some places, the gentry were constrained to countenance, by their presence, those barbarous executions. These acts of violence tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar[o]. But the court, finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not

[n] Burnet, vol. ii p. 306. [o] Heylin, p. 56.

not bear alone the whole infamy, ſoon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without controul. A bold ſtep was even taken towards introducing the inquiſition into England. As the biſhops courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be inveſted with ſufficient power, a commiſſion was appointed by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate hereſy. Twenty-one perſons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commiſſion runs in theſe terms: "That "ſince many falſe rumours were publiſhed among the "ſubjects, and many heretical opinions were alſo "ſpread among them, the commiſſioners were to en-"quire into thoſe, either by preſentments, by witneſ-"ſes, or any other political way they could deviſe, "and to ſearch after all hereſies; the bringers in, "the ſellers, the readers of all heretical books: "They were to examine and puniſh all miſbehavi-"ours or negligences, in any church or chapel; and "to try all prieſts that did not preach the ſacrament "of the altar; all perſons that did not hear maſs, or "come to their pariſh church to ſervice, that would "not go in proceſſions, or did not take holy bread "or holy water: And if they found any that did "obſtinately perſiſt in ſuch hereſies, they were to "put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be "puniſhed according to the ſpiritual laws: Giving "the commiſſioners full power to proceed, as their "diſcretions and conſciences ſhould direct them, and "to uſe all ſuch means as they would invent for the "ſearching of the premiſes; empowering them alſo "to call before them ſuch witneſſes as they pleaſed, "and to force them to make oath of ſuch things as "might diſcover what they ſought after[p]." Some

C. 11 & 12. XXXVII. 1555.

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 32.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1615.

civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to Lord North, and others, enjoining them, "To put to the torture such obstinate persons "as would not confess, and there to order them at "their discretion [q]." Secret spies also, and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, "That they should call secretly be-"fore them one or two honest persons within their "limits, or more, at their discretion, and command "them by oath, or otherwise, that they shall secret-"ly learn and search out such persons as shall evil "behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall "despise openly by words, the king's or queen's pro-"ceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or "tell any seditious tales or news. And also that the "same persons so to be appointed, shall declare to "the same justices of peace, the ill behaviour of "lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for "using unlawful games, and such other light beha-"viour of such suspected persons: And that the same "information shall be given secretly to the justices; "and the same justices shall call such accused persons "before them, and examine them, without declaring "by whom they were accused. And that the same "justices shall, upon their examination, punish the "offenders, according as their offences shall appear, "upon the accusement and examination, by their "discretion, either by open punishment or by good "abearing [r]." In some respects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition; by introducing into every part of government, the same iniquities which that tribunal practises for the extirpation

q Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243.

r Ibid. p. 246, 247.

sution of heresy only, and which are, in some measure necessary, wherever that end is earnestly pursued. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

But the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, "That whosoever had any of these books, "and did not presently burn them, without reading "them, or shewing them to any other person, should "be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay, "be executed by martial law[s]." From the state of the English government during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

We have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years, that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author[t] computes, that, in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries,

s Burnet, vol. ii. p. 363. Heylin, p. 79. t Father Paul, lib. 5.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

tries, as the same author subjoins, the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped such considerable profit: Yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Anthony Brown, created Viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the Catholic church [v]. Paul IV. after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary still retained among her titles, that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old: But, to avoid all dispute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his concession. This was a useful artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent [w], and afterwards pretend, that princes, while they exercised their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And tho' Paul had at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title, before he would bestow it upon her; he found it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner [x].

Another point in discussion between the pope and the English ambassadors was not so easily terminated. Paul insisted, that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing: That

[v] Heylin, p. 45.
[w] Ibid. Father Paul, lib. 5.
[x] Father Paul, lib. 5.

That whatever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uſes, and every perſon who detained ſuch poſſeſſions was in a ſtate of eternal damnation: That he would willingly, in conſideration of the humble ſubmiſſions of the Engliſh, make them a preſent of theſe eccleſiaſtical revenues; but ſuch a conceſſion exceeded his power, and the people might be certain, that ſo great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blaſt all their future felicity: That if they would truly ſhew their filial piety, they muſt reſtore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romiſh church, and Peter's pence among the reſt; nor could they expect, that this apoſtle would open to them the gates of paradiſe, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth [7]. Theſe earneſt remonſtrances being tranſmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to eaſe her conſcience, to reſtore all the church lands which were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the crown: And, the more to diſplay her zeal, ſhe erected a-new ſome convents and monaſteries, notwithſtanding the low condition of the exchequer [8]. When this meaſure was debated in council, ſome members objected, that, if ſuch a conſiderable part of the revenue were diſmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay: but the queen replied, that ſhe preferred the ſalvation of her ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms as England [9]. Theſe imprudent meaſures would not probably have taken place ſo eaſily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: The great ſeal was given to Heathe, archbiſhop of York; that an eccleſiaſtic might ſtill be poſſeſſed of that high office, and be

CHAP. XXXVII. 1553.

7 Father Paul, lib. 5. Heylin, p. 45. 8 Heylin, p. 53. 65. Hollingſhed, p. 1127. Speed, p. 826.
9 Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 312.

CHAP. XXXVII.

better enabled by his authority to forward the perſecutions againſt the reformed.

1555. 21ſt Oct. A parliament.

Theſe perſecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public diſcontent appeared in the new parliament, ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter [b]. A bill [c] was paſſed, reſtoring to the church the tenths and firſt-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herſelf, great oppoſition was made to the bill in the houſe of commons. An application being made for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed by the commons; and many members ſaid, that, while the crown was thus deſpoiling itſelf of its revenue, it was in vain to beſtow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy from being juſtices of peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

9th Dec.

The ſpirit of oppoſition which began to prevail in parliament, was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as ſhe was otherwiſe in very bad humour, on account of her huſband's abſence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealouſy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the firſt opportunity to leave her, and had gone over laſt ſummer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the diſappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and ſhe gave vent to her ſpleen by daily enforcing the perſecutions againſt the Proteſtants, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects; by whom ſhe knew herſelf to be hated,

b Burnet, vol. ii. p. 322. c 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. cap. 4.

hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company[d]. The less return her love met with, the more it encreased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended, was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herself best assured: But that sum not sufficing, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a-year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged, many of them, to retrench their expences, and dismiss their servants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: And as these servants, accustomed to idleness, and having no means of subsistence, commonly betook themselves to theft and robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their service. She levied 60,000 marks on 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting, for four months, the exporting of any English cloth or kersey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market

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The queen's extortion.

[d] Depeches de Noailles, vol. v. p. 370. 562.

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for such as had already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciousness engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in Antwerp having refused her a loan of 40,000 pounds, she dissembled her resentment, till she found that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: She then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after she was informed, that the Italian merchants had shipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a-piece, the usual imposition; She struck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the English merchants, in consideration of this iniquity, the sum of 50,000 pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad; but her credit was so low, that, though she offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, she could not obtain it, till she compelled the city of London to be surety for her[t]. All these violent expedients were employed, while she herself was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money but to supply the demands of a husband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and showed himself entirely indifferent about her interests.

The emperor resigns his crown.

Philip was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions

t Godwin, p. 359. Cowper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 359. Carte, p. 330. 333. 337. 341. Strype's memor. vol. iii. p. 428. 558. Annals, vol. i. p. 15.

dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor, Charles V.; who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries; and, fearing himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burthen which he imposed upon him[a]. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the study of his people's happiness; and represented how much preferable it was to govern by affection rather than by fear, the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found, that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, and kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with less opposition, and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1555. 25th Oct.

A few months after, he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and, embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and 1556.

[a] Thuan. lib. xvi. c. 20.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person. With better reason was he struck with the ingratitude of his son Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the small pension which he had reserved; and this disappointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a sensible concern. He pursued, however, his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted such self-command, that he restrained even his curiosity from any enquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmities under which he laboured occupied a great part of his time; and, during the intervals, he employed his leisure either in examining the controversies of theology, with which his age had been so much agitated, and which he had hitherto considered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artists, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is said to have here discovered a propensity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his sentiments. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was in which he had so much employed himself during his grandeur; and how impossible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the same belief and opinion. He survived his retreat two years.

The Emperor Charles had very early, in the beginning of his reign, found the difficulty of governing such distant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand

Ferdinand be elected king of the Romans; with a view to his inheriting the imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions. But, having afterwards enlarged his schemes, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted that he must dismember such considerable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most earnest solicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitless, he had resigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused the demand; and pretended, that though, on the death of an emperor, he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet, in the case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was, in every thing, conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of any prince; that he was above all potentates of the earth; that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms; that he was successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far, as, at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would not admit any kings for his companions: They were all his subjects, and he would hold them under these feet: So saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs: For he was now past fourscore years of age[c].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

The world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles V. a prince, who, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the decline

[c] Father Paul, lib. v.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556

decline of age, and had descended from the throne, in order to set apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a priest, who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion, and from restless ambition and revenge, was throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had entertained the most inveterate animosity against the house of Austria; and, though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry, by his solicitations, to break it, and promised to assist him in recovering Naples, and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved hurtful to the predecessors of that monarch. He himself engaged in hostilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and, Guise being sent with forces to support him, the renewal of war between the two crowns seemed almost inevitable. Philip, though less warlike than his father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted, that, by the intrigues of the cabinet, where, he believed, his caution, and secrecy, and prudence gave him the superiority, he should be able to subdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reason, as well as from the desire of settling his new empire, he wished to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that, without sacrificing his honour, it was impossible for him to overlook the hostile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great industry. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and, though the queen was of herself extremely averse to that measure, he hoped, that the devoted fondness which, notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, she still bore to him, would effectually second his applications. Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of resisting her husband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her people; and her government,

which

which was every day becoming more odious, seemed unable to maintain itself even during the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with France, and what seemed an inevitable consequence, with Scotland, supported by that powerful kingdom. CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

An act of barbarity was this year exercised in England, which, added to many other instances of the same kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and, in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and, though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely were sent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature[f]. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence, to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity[g]. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments Execution of Cranmer.

f Mem. of Cranm. p. 375. g Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383.

CHAP. XXVII. 1556.

sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him: That a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: That there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: That he took this opportunity of atoneing for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: And that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake amidst the insults of the Catholics; and, having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least

21st March.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, *This hand has offended.* Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous Protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the Protestant party[h].

After Cranmer's death, Cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose[i]; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigoted disposition of the queen and of her counsellors. He himself, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the reigning

h Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331, 332, &c. Godwin, p. 352.
i Burnet, vol. ii. p. 324, 325.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1556. reigning pope, was a furious perſecutor and his perſonal enemy, he was prompted, by the modeſty of his diſpoſition, to reſerve his credit for other occaſions, in which he had a greater probability of ſucceſs [k].

1557. The great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and Cardinal Pole, with many other counſellors, openly and zealouſly oppoſed this meaſure. Beſides inſiſting on the marriage articles, which provided againſt ſuch an attempt, they repreſented the violence of the domeſtic factions in England, and the diſordered ſtate of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all theſe meaſures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spaniſh counſels. Philip had come to London in order to ſupport his partizans; and he told the queen, that, if he were not gratified in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, he never more would ſet foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his intereſts, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, ſhe threatened to diſmiſs all of them, and to appoint counſellors more obſequious; yet could ſhe not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and ſome other conſpirators were detected in a deſign of ſurprizing Scarborough [l]; and, a confeſſion being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hoſtility, with others of a like ſecret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly

[k] Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327.
[l] Heylin, p. 72. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 351. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

highly declared against France; and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom. CHAP. XXXVII. 1557.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds [m]. Any considerable supplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would sensibly diminish that branch arising from the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; and must still more prove unequal to the expences of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her servants, besides the loans extorted from her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and, in order to support her warlike preparations, she continued to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner which she had formerly practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with 60,000 pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued a-new many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearness of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low-Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: They either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them [n].

[m] Rossi, Successi d'Inghilterra.
[n] Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 377.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1557.

The king of Spain had aſſembled an army, which, after the junction of the Engliſh, amounted to above ſixty thouſand men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt captains of the age. The conſtable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppoſe to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Maricmbourgh and Rocroy, ſuddenly ſat down before St Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garriſon, he expected in a few days to become maſter of it. But Admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour intereſted to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into St Quintin, with ſome troops of French and Scottiſh genſdarmery; and by his exhortations and example animated the ſoldiers to a vigorous defence. He diſpatched a meſſenger to his uncle, Montmorency, deſiring a ſupply of men; and the conſtable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of theſe ſuccours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did ſuch execution upon them, that not above five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thouſand men, and diſperſing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either ſlain or taken priſoners: Among the latter was the old conſtable himſelf, who, fighting valiantly, and reſolute to die rather than ſurvive his defeat, was ſurrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into conſternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry: And had the Spaniards preſently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined firſt to take St Quintin, in order to ſecure a communication with his own dominions.

10th Aug.

Battle of St Quintin.

A

A very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprize, but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recal the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: And the French, having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the season so far advanced that he could attempt no other enterprize: He broke up his camp, and retired to winter-quarters. CHAP. XXXVII. 1557.

But the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with securing the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enterprize, which France, during her greatest successes, had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was, in that age, deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked, that, as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St Agatha and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismis a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprise being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise. Calais taken by the French.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1552.

Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruising on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assaulted St Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, Lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was inclosed in the castle of Newnam bridge and the risbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which, without their assistance, he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge was so happy as to effect this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion.

The duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprize; but, in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fossée, he commanded an assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but

but having loſt two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it[o], he found his garriſon ſo weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guiſnes fell ſoon after; and thus the duke of Guiſe, in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himſelf maſter of this ſtrong fortreſs, that had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Creſſy. The Engliſh had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an eaſy entrance into France, it was regarded as the moſt important poſſeſſion belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guiſe, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be ſunk by the unfortunate battle of St Quintin, had, in oppoſition to the Engliſh, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired poſſeſſion of a place, which no former king of France, even during the diſtractions of the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, had ever ventured to attempt. The Engliſh, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortreſs, murmured loudly againſt the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitleſs war, for the ſake of foreign intereſts, had thus expoſed the nation to ſo ſevere a diſgrace. A treaſury exhauſted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a ſovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumſtances which, notwithſtanding the fair offers and promiſes of Philip, gave them ſmall hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, inſtigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now neceſſitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conqueſts.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

After the peace which, in conſequence of King Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scot- Affairs of Scotland.

land

[o] Thuan. lib. xx. cap. 2.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1548.

land and England, the queen-dowager, on pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and she carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrouled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and, by his authority, the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter, bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, she persuaded him, by their means, to consent to this resignation [p]; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: A marriage, he said, so happily calculated for the tranquillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms, and the only means of insuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other husband whom she should choose; nor was it easy for him to forgive a man, who, at the same time that he disappointed so natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride, to whom his affections, from his earliest infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen-dowager eluded these applications, by telling him, that, if any measures had been taken disagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerset, who, instead of employing courtesy, caresses, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princess, had had recourse to arms

[p] Buchanan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 56. Spotswood, p. 92.

arms and violence, and had conſtrained the Scotiſh nobility to ſend their ſovereign into France, in order to intereſt that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence [q].

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

When the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, ſhe found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be perſuaded to reſign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princeſs was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit; and having ſtipulated, that he ſhould be declared next heir to the crown, and ſhould be freed from giving any account of his paſt adminiſtration, he placed her in poſſeſſion of the power; and ſhe thenceforth aſſumed the name of regent [r]. It was a uſual ſaying of this princeſs, that, provided ſhe could render her friends happy, and could inſure to herſelf a good reputation, ſhe was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this ſentiment is greatly cenſured by the zealous reformers [s], as being founded wholly on ſecular motives, it diſcovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oiſel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambaſſador from Henry, but in reality to aſſiſt her with his counſels in ſo delicate an undertaking as the adminiſtration of Scotland; and this man had formed a ſcheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to ſupport a ſtanding military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottiſh nobles. But though ſome of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general diſcontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after ingenuouſly confeſſing, that it would prove pernicious

q Keith, p. 59. r 12th April 1554. s Knox, p. 89.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1548.

to the kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects [t].

This laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was she sometimes drawn from it by her connections with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the queen was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her purpose. She ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwick, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England [u]. The enterprizes, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders: When d'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked by the council [w].

Marriage of the dauphin and the queen of Scots.

In order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament, to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

The

[t] Keith, p. 70. Buchanan, lib. xvi.
[u] Buchanan, lib. xvi. Thuan, lib. xix. c. 7. [w] Knox, p. 93.

The close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that, though the factions and disorders, which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. And such an emergency usually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments, during this reign, had shewn, that, where the liberty and independency of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should, at least, be censured, and perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. The commons, however, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions. A. D. 1558. 20th Jan. A parliament.

The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that, in Mary's present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to establish a prince with very extensive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copley expressed his

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

his fears leſt the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the ſucceſſion, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: But his words were thought *irreverent* to her majeſty: He was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; and though he expreſſed ſorrow for his offence, he was not releaſed till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

The Engliſh nation, during this whole reign, were under great apprehenſions, with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life of the Lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her, broke out on every occaſion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princeſs retired into the country; and knowing that ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe paſſed her time wholly in reading and ſtudy, intermeddled in no buſineſs, and ſaw very little company. While ſhe remained in this ſituation, which for the preſent was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for thoſe great actions by which her life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed; propoſals of marriage were made to her by the Swediſh ambaſſador, in his maſter's name. As her firſt queſtion was, whether the queen had been informed of theſe propoſals? The ambaſſador told her, that his maſter thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty firſt to make his addreſſes to herſelf; and having obtained her conſent, he would next, as a king, apply to her ſiſter. But the princeſs would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this inſtance of duty, deſired to know how ſhe ſtood affected to the Swediſh propoſals. Elizabeth, though expoſed to many preſent dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reſerve herſelf for better fortune; and ſhe covered her refuſal with profeſſions of a paſſionate attachment to a ſingle life, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe infinitely preferred before

fore any other [y]. The princeſs ſhowed like prudence in concealing her ſentiments of religion, in complying with the preſent modes of worſhip, and in eluding all queſtions with regard to that delicate ſubject [z]. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

The money granted by parliament, enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail, which, being joined by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, and carrying ſix thouſand land forces on board, was ſent to make an attempt on the coaſt of Britanny. The fleet was commanded by Lord Clinton: the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was ſo dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the deſign, and were prepared to receive them. The Engliſh found Breſt ſo well guarded as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with ſome adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater diſorders, when Kerſimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of ſome militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ſhips with conſiderable loſs. But a ſmall ſquadron of ten Engliſh ſhips had an opportunity of amply revenging this diſgrace upon the French. The Mareſchal de Thermes, governor of Calais,

y Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. N°. 37.

z The common net at that time, ſays Sir Richard Baker, for catching of Proteſtants, was the real preſence; and this net was uſed to catch the Lady Elizabeth: For being aſked one time, what ſhe thought of the words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, whether ſhe thought it the true body of Chriſt that was in the ſacrament? it is ſaid, that, after ſome pauſing, ſhe thus anſwered:

Chriſt was the word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Which, though it may ſeem but a ſlight expreſſion, yet hath it more ſolidneſs than at firſt ſight appears; at leaſt, it ſerved her turn at that time, to eſcape the net, which by direct anſwer ſhe could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558. Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport, but Count Egmont coming suddenly upon him with superior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions possible; and posted his right along the river Aa, which, he reasonably thought, gave him full security from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river, and flanking the French, did such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory [a].

Meanwhile the principal army of France, under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that some great and important event would follow, from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, possessed not the enterprizing genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negociations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter quarters, till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais

[a] Hollingshed, p. 1150.

Calais and its territory to England: But in the midſt of theſe negociations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmneſs on that capital article. This was the only circumſtance that could have made the death of that princeſs be regretted by the nation. CHAP. XXXVI. 1558.

Mary had long been in a declining ſtate of health; and having miſtaken her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had made uſe of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects, the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, apprehenſions of the danger to which the Catholic religion ſtood expoſed, dejection for the loſs of Calais, concern for the ill ſtate of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the abſence of her huſband, who, ſhe knew, intended ſoon to depart for Spain, and to ſettle there during the remainder of his life: All theſe melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. Death of the queen, 17th Nov.

It is not neceſſary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princeſs. She poſſeſſed few qualities either eſtimable or amiable; and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumſtance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow underſtanding. And amidſt that complication of vices, which entered into her compoſition, we ſhall ſcarcely find any virtue but ſincerity: a quality which ſhe ſeems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the neceſſity of her affairs obliged her to make ſome promiſes to the Proteſtants, which ſhe certainly never intended to perform. But in theſe caſes a weak bigoted

CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

poted woman, under the government of prieſts, eaſily finds caſuiſtry ſufficient to juſtify to herſelf the violation of a promiſe. She appears alſo, as well as her father, to have been ſuſceptible of ſome attachments of friendſhip; and that without the caprice and inconſtancy which were ſo remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumſtances of her life, ſhe gave indications of reſolution and vigour of mind; a quality which ſeems to have been inherent in her family.

Cardinal Pole had long been ſickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the ſame day with the queen, about ſixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modeſty and humanity of his deportment, made him be univerſally beloved; inſomuch that, in a nation, where the moſt furious perſecution was carried on, and where the moſt violent religious factions prevailed, entire juſtice, even by moſt of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained ſome prejudices againſt him: And when England declared war againſt Henry, the ally of that pope, he ſeized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commiſſion, appointed in his room Cardinal Peyto, an obſervantine friar and confeſſor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commiſſion; and Paul was afterwards obliged to reſtore Cardinal Pole to his authority.

There occur few general remarks, beſides what have already been made in the courſe of our narration, with regard to the general ſtate of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then ſo inconſiderable, that, fourteen thouſand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thouſand pounds a-year would afterwards anſwer all neceſſary charges [b]. The arbitrary proceedings of the

[b] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 259.

the queen, above mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princeſs, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and ſo much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it neceſſary, to proceed in ſo tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the laſt reign, and in the beginning of the preſent, had laid the ſame impoſitions on the merchants of the ſtill-yard as on other aliens: Yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the ſolicitations of the emperor, and, by her prerogative, ſuſpended thoſe laws [c]. No body in that age pretended to queſtion this exerciſe of prerogative. The hiſtorians are entirely ſilent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

An abſurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unleſs he had ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years. The law was repealed in the firſt year of the queen; and this plain reaſon given, that it had occaſioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined ſeveral towns [d]. It is ſtrange that Edward's law ſhould have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and ſtill more ſtrange, that it ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt.

A paſſage to Archangel had been diſcovered by the Engliſh during the laſt reign; and a beneficial trade with Muſcovy had been eſtabliſhed. A ſolemn embaſſy was ſent by the Czar to Queen Mary. The ambaſſadors were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Scotland; but being hoſpitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and ſolemnity [e]. This ſeems to have

c Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364. d 1 Mar. Par. 2. cap. 7. e Hollingſhed, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71.

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have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

A law was passed in this reign[f], by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a-year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: He was obliged to have forty corslets furnished: fifty almain revets, or instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty haquebuts, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of a thousand marks of stock, was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a-year: A proof that few or none at that time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a-year.

We may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance: A man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household paid only thirty shillings a-year of our present money for his house in Channel Row[g]: Yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness, and dirt, and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors," says he, "are

I "commonly

f 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2. g Nicholson's Historical Library.

" commonly of clay, ſtrewed with ruſhes, under which CHAP. XXXVII.
" lies unmoleſted an ancient collection of beer, greaſe, 1558.
" fragments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs and
" cats, and every thing that is naſty [h]."

Hollingſhed, who lived in Queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude, way of living of the preceding generation. There ſcarcely was a chimney to the houſes, even in conſiderable towns: The fire was kindled by the wall, and the ſmoke ſought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: The houſes were nothing but watling plaiſtered over with clay: The people ſlept on ſtraw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almoſt all the furniture and utenſils were of wood [i].

In this reign we find the firſt general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by pariſh-duty all over England [k].

h Eraſ. Epiſt. 432.
i See note [S] at the end of the volume.
k 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. cap. 8.

NOTES

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 34.

PROTESTANT writers have imagined, that, becauſe a man could purchaſe for a ſhilling an indulgence for the moſt enormous and unheard-of crimes, there muſt neceſſarily have enſued a total diſſolution of morality, and conſequently of civil ſociety, from the practices of the Romiſh church. They do not conſider, that, after all theſe indulgences were promulgated, there ſtill remained (beſides hell-fire) the puniſhment by the civil magiſtrate, the infamy of the world, and ſecret remorſes of conſcience, which are the great motives that operate on mankind. The philoſophy of *Cicero*, who allowed of an *Elyſium*, but rejected all *Tartarus*, was a much more univerſal indulgence than that preached by *Arcemboldi* or *Tetzel*: Yet nobody will ſuſpect *Cicero* of any deſign to promote immorality. The ſale of indulgences ſeems, therefore, no more criminal than any other cheat of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The reformers, by entirely aboliſhing purgatory, did really, inſtead of partial indulgences ſold by the pope, give, gratis, a general indulgence, of a ſimilar nature, for all crimes and offences, without exception or diſtinction. The ſouls, once conſigned to hell, were never ſuppoſed to be redeemable by any price. There is on record only one inſtance of a damned ſoul that was ſaved, and that by the ſpecial interceſſion of the Virgin. See Paſcal's Provincial Letters. An indulgence ſaved the perſon, who purchaſed it, from purgatory only.

NOTE

NOTE [B], p. 48.

IT is said, that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required supply, he was so provoked that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a considerable influence on the house; and he being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words: *Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?* And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, *Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off.* This cavalier manner of Henry succeeded; for next day the bill passed. *Collins's British Peerage. Grove's Life of Wolsey.* We are told by *Hall*, fol. 38. that Cardinal Wolsey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that *it were better that some should suffer indigence, than that the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some people their heads.* Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers.

NOTE [C], p. 94.

THE first article of the charge against the Cardinal is his procuring the legantine power; which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's consent and permission could be nowise criminal. Many of the other articles also regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions, which were natural or unavoidable to any man that was prime minister with so unlimited an authority; such as receiving first all letters from the king's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, desiring that all applications should be made through him. He was also accused of naming himself with the king as if he had been his fellow, *the king and I.* It is reported that sometimes he even put his own name before the king's, *ego et rex meus.* But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable, that his whispering in the king's ear, knowing himself to be affected with venereal distempers, is an

article againſt him. Many of the charges are general, and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes ſo far as to affirm, that no man ever fell from ſo high a ſtation who had ſo few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps a little too favourable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwell, and their being rejected by a houſe of commons, even in this arbitrary reign, is almoſt a demonſtration of Wolſey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his deſtruction, when, on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the ſtatute of proviſors, which afforded him ſo little juſt hold on that miniſter. For that this indictment was ſubſequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, and Stowe, p. 551, and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themſelves. Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inſt. pt. 4. fol. 89.

NOTE [D], p. 102.

EVEN judging of this queſtion by the Scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cauſe appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage, in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is, indeed, prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewiſh ceremonial or municipal law: And though it is there ſaid, in the concluſion, that the gentile nations, by violating theſe degrees of conſanguinity, had incurred the divine diſpleaſure, the extenſion of this maxim to every preciſe caſe before ſpecified, is ſuppoſing the Scriptures to be compoſed with a minute accuracy and preciſion, to which, we know with certainty, the ſacred penmen did not think proper to confine themſelves. The deſcent of mankind from one common father, obliged them, in the firſt generation, to marry in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity: Inſtances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain caſes, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a poſitive precept by the Moſaical law. It is in vain to ſay that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewiſh nation. The inference is ſtill juſt, that ſuch a marriage can contain no natural or

moral

moral turpitude; otherwiſe God, who is the author of all purity, would never, in any caſe, have enjoined it.

NOTE [E], p. 112.

BISHOP BURNET has given us an account of the number of bulls requiſite for Cranmer's inſtallation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is, upon the royal nomination, made archbiſhop of Canterbury. By a ſecond, directed to himſelf, he is alſo made archbiſhop. By a third, he is abſolved from all cenſures. A fourth is directed to the ſuffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbiſhop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the ſame purpoſe. A ſixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A ſeventh to all the laity in his ſee. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordered to be conſecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth the pall was ſent him. By an eleventh, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of London, were required to put it on him. Theſe were ſo many devices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected, and diſpoſed of for money. It may be worth obſerving, that Cranmer, before he took the oath to the pope, made a proteſtation, that he did not intend thereby to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of theſe. This was the invention of ſome caſuiſt, and not very compatible with that ſtrict ſincerity, and that ſcrupulous conſcience, of which Cranmer made profeſſion. Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. N° 22, Burnet, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

NOTE [F], p. 128.

HERE are the terms in which the king's miniſter expreſſed himſelf to the pope. An non, inquam, ſanctitas veſtra plerusque habet quibuſcum arcanum aliquid crediderit, patet id non minus celatum eſſe quam ſi uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis ſereniſſimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui ſinguli in ſuo regno ſunt ſubjecti, nequi etiam velint, poſſunt Regi non eſſe fideliſſimi. Væ namque illis, ſi vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate

recederent. Le Grand, tom. iii. p. 213. The king once said publicly before the council, that if any one spoke of him or his actions, in terms which became them not, he would let them know that he was master. Et qu'il n'y auroit si belle tete qu'il ne fit voler. Id. p. 218.

NOTE [S], p. 158.

THIS letter contains so much nature, and even elegance, as to deserve to be transmitted to posterity, without any alteration in the expression. It is as follows:

"Sir, your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things "so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am "altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to "confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one, whom "you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner re"ceived this message by him, than I rightly conceived your mean"ing; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure "my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your "command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will "ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a "thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince "had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than "you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: With which name and "place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your "grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time "so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but "that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for "the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than "your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and suf"ficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have cho"sen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far "beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of "such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad "counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from "me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal "heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your

"most

" moſt dutiful wife, and the infant princeſs your daughter. Try " me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my " ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; yea, let me receive " an open trial, for my truth ſhall fear no open ſhame; then ſhall " you ſee either mine innocence cleared, your ſuſpicion and con- " ſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, " or my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you " may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open " cenſure; and mine offence being ſo lawfully proved, your grace " is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute wor- " thy puniſhment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your af- " fection, already ſettled on that party for whoſe ſake I am now as " I am, whoſe name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed " unto, your grace not being ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein.

" But if you have already determined of me, and that not only " my death, but an infamous ſlander, muſt bring you the enjoying " of your deſired happineſs, then I deſire of God that he will par- " don your great ſin therein, and likewiſe mine enemies, the in- " ſtruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict ac- " count for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his general " judgment-ſeat, where both you and myſelf muſt ſhortly appear, " and in whoſe judgment I doubt not (whatſoever the world may " think of me) mine innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſuf- " ficiently cleared.

" My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that myſelf may only bear " the burden of your grace's diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch " the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor gentlemen, who (as I under- " ſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait impriſonment for my ſake. If ever " I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Bo- " leyn hath been pleaſing in your ears, then let me obtain this re- " queſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble your grace any further, with " mine earneſt prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good " keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my dole- " ful priſon in the Tower, this ſixth of May;

" Your moſt loyal and ever faithful wife,

" Anne Boleyn."

NOTE [H], p. 169.

A Proposal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the leſſer monaſteries; and had been much oppoſed by Biſhop Fiſher, who was then alive. He told his brethren, that this was fairly ſhowing the king the way how he might come at the greater monaſteries. "An ax," ſaid he, "which wanted "a handle, came upon a time into the wood, making his moan to "the great trees that he wanted a handle to work withal, and for "that cauſe he was conſtrained to ſit idle; therefore he made it "his requeſt to them, that they would be pleaſed to grant him one "of their ſmall ſaplings within the wood to make him a handle; "who miſtruſting no guile, granted him one of their ſmaller trees "to make him a handle. But now becoming a complete ax, he "fell ſo to work, within the ſame wood, that, in proceſs of time, "there was neither great nor ſmall trees to be found in the place "where the wood ſtood. And ſo, my lords, if you grant the "king theſe ſmaller monaſteries, you do but make him a handle, "whereby, at his own pleaſure, he may cut down all the cedars "within your Lebanons." Dr Bailie's life of Biſhop Fiſher, p. 108

NOTE [I], p. 182.

THERE is a curious paſſage, with regard to the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, to be found in Coke's Inſtitutes, 4th inſt. chap 1. p. 44. It is worth tranſcribing, as it ſhews the ideas of the Engliſh government, entertained during the reign of Henry VIII, and even in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when he wrote his Inſtitutes. It clearly appears that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were deſirous of making the crown quite independent, and wiſhed only to remove from themſelves, as much as poſſible, the burthens of government. A large ſtanding

ſtanding army, and a fixed revenue, would, on theſe conditions, have been regarded as great bleſſings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little ſuſpicion that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the Engliſh owe all their preſent liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, *Advice concerning new and plauſible Projects and Offers in Parliament.* "When "any plauſible project," ſays he, "is made in parliament, to draw "the lords and commons to aſſent to any act (eſpecially in mat-"ters of weight and importance), if both houſes do give, upon the "matter projected and promiſed, their conſent, it ſhall be moſt ne-"ceſſary, they being truſted for the commonwealth, to have the "matter projected and promiſed (which moved the houſes to con-"ſent) to be eſtabliſhed in the ſame act, leſt the benefit of the act "be taken, and the matter projected and promiſed never perform-"ed, and ſo the houſes of parliament perform not the truſt repoſed "in them, as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the "reign of Henry the Eighth: On the king's behalf, the members "of both houſes were informed in parliament, that no king or "kingdom was ſafe, but where the king had three abilities: 1. "To live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any "ſodden invaſion or inſurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, "otherwiſe they would never aſſiſt him. 3. To reward his well-"deſerving ſervants. Now the project was, that if the parliament "would give unto him all the abbies, priories, friaries, nunneries, "and other monaſteries, that, for ever in time then to come, he "would take order that the ſame ſhould not be converted to pri-"vate uſes: but firſt, that his exchequer for the purpoſes aforeſaid "ſhould be enriched; ſecondly, the kingdom ſtrengthened by a "continual maintenance of forty thouſand well-trained ſoldiers, "with ſkilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for the benefit "and eaſe of the ſubject, who never afterwards (as was projected), "in any time to come, ſhould be charged with ſubſidies, fifteenths, "loans, or other common aids; fourthly, leſt the honour of the "realm ſhould receive any diminution of honour by the diſſolution "of the ſaid monaſteries, there being twenty-nine lords of parlia-"ment of the abbots and priors (that held of the king *per baro-"niam*, whereof more in the next leaf), that the king would create "a number of nobles, which we omit. The ſaid monaſteries "were given to the king by authority of divers acts of parliament,

but

" but no provision was therein made for the said project, or any " part thereof."

NOTE [K], p. 192.

COLLIER, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 152. has preserved an account which Cromwell gave of this conference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyat, the king's ambassador in Germany. " The king's majesty," says Cromwell, " for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his " hall, and there presided at the disputation, process and judgment " of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was burned the 20th of " November. It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty his highness exercised " there the very office of supreme head of the church of England. " How benignly his grace essayed to convert the miserable man; " How strong and manifest reasons his highness alledged against " him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have " had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should " have much marvelled at his majesty's most high wisdom, and " judgment, and reputed him no otherwise after the same, than in " a manner the mirror and light of all other kings and princes in " Christendom." It was by such flatteries that Henry was engaged to make his sentiments the standard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the severest penalties, his *strong* and *manifest* reasons for transubstantiation.

NOTE [L], p. 195.

THERE is a story, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, soon after this act was passed, one of his chaplains, who was suspected of favouring the reformation, said to him, " Now, Sir, what " think you of the law to hinder priests from having wives?" " Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, " you have done that; but " I will answer for it, you cannot hinder men's wives from having " priests."

NOTE [M], p. 210.

TO show how much Henry sported with law and common sense; how servilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were lost to all sense of shame; an act was passed this session, declaring that a pre-contract should be no ground for annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is said to be a design of vesting the Princess Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treason to deny the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

NOTE [N], p. 221.

IT was enacted by this parliament, that there should be trial of treason in any county where the king should appoint by commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and such an expedient saved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The same parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom, and Henry henceforth annexed the title of King of Ireland to his other titles. This session, the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members, who were arrested, by a writ issued by the speaker. Formerly it was usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent encreased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards important consequences. Holinshed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

NOTE [O,] p. 230.

THE persecutions exercised during James's reign are not to be ascribed to his bigotry, a vice of which he seems to have been as free as Francis the First, or the Emperor Charles; both of whom, as well as James, shewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities to which all these princes were carried proceeded entirely from the situation of affairs during that age, which rendered it impossible for them

them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the resolution of supporting the ancient establishments. So violent was the propensity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed design of changing the national religion.

NOTE [P], p. 296.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 75. The same author, p. 93, tells a story, which confirms this character of the Popish clergy in Scotland. It became a great dispute in the university of St. Andrews, whether the *pater* should be said to God or the saints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the saints, were determined to maintain their honour with great obstinacy, but they knew not upon what topics to found their doctrine. Some held that the *pater* was said to God *formaliter*, and to saints *materialiter*: others to God *principaliter*, and to saints *minus principaliter*; others would have it *ultimate* and *non ultimate*: But the majority seemed to hold, that the *pater* was said to God *capiendo stricte*, and to saints *capiendo large*. A simple fellow who served the sub prior, thinking there was some great matter in hand, that made the doctors hold so many conferences together, asked him one day what the matter was; the sub-prior answering, *For* that was the fellow's name, *we cannot agree to whom the pater noster should be said.* He suddenly replied, *To whom, Sir, should it be said, but unto God?* Then said the sub-prior, *What shall we do with the saints?* He answered, *Give them Aves and Creeds, even in the devil's name; for that may suffice them.* The answer going abroad, many said, *that he had given a wiser decision than all the doctors had done with all their distinctions.*

NOTE [Q], p. 321.

ANOTHER act, passed this session, takes notice in the preamble, that the city of York, formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed; insomuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incumbents. To remedy this inconvenience, the magistrates were impowered to unite as many

many parishes as they thought proper. An ecclesiastical historian, Collier, vol. ii. p. 230. thinks that this decay of York is chiefly to be ascribed to the dissolution of monasteries, by which the revenues fell into the hands of persons who lived at a distance.

A very grievous tax was imposed this session upon the whole stock and monied interest of the kingdom, and even upon its industry. It was a shilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every person worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizens. These last, if above twelve years of age, and if worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay eight-pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two-pence yearly; every ew three-pence. The woollen manufactures were to pay eight-pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof that few people lived on money lent at interest: For this tax amounts to half of the yearly income of all money-holders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many persons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this session. The profits of merchandise were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the laws seems to be the tax upon the woollen manufactures. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The subsequent parliament repealed the tax on sheep and woollen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. *Ibid.*

The clergy taxed themselves at six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in parliament, which had been the common practice since the reformation, implying that the clergy have no legislative power, even over themselves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

NOTE (R), p. 401.

THE pope at first gave Cardinal Pole powers to transact only with regard to the past fruits of the church lands; but being admonished of the danger attending any attempt towards a resumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's powers, and grant-

ed him authority to ensure the future possession of the church lands to the present proprietors. There was only one clause in the cardinal's powers that has given occasion for some speculation. An exception was made of such cases as Pole should think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy see. But Pole simply ratified the possession of all the church lands; and his commission had given him full powers to that purpose. See Harleyan Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 264. 266. It is true, some councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, or power, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration. But every year gave solidity to the right of the proprietors of church lands, and diminished the authority of the popes; so that men's dread of Popery in subsequent times was more founded on party or religious zeal, than on very solid reasons.

NOTE (S), p. 449.

THE passage of Hollingshed, in the Discourse prefixed to his History, and which some ascribe to Harrison, is as follows. Speaking of the encrease of luxury: Neither do I speak this in reproach of any man, God is my judge; but to shew that I do rejoice rather to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to most excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and atchieve such furniture as heretofore has been impossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas, in their young days, there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor-places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage;) but each made his fire against a reredosse in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment of lodging: For, said they, our fathers, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon straw pallettes covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dagswaine or hopharlots (I use their own

own terms), and a good round log under their head instead of a bolster. If it were ſo, that the father or the good-man of the houſe had a matraſs or flock-bed, and therein a ſack of chaff to reſt his head upon, he thought himſelf to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: So well were they contented. Pillows, ſaid they, were thought meet only for women in childbed: As for ſervants, if they had any ſheet above them, it was well: For ſeldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking ſtraws, that ran oft through the canvas, and razed their hardened hides. The third thing they tell of is, the exchange of Treene platters *(ſo called I ſuppoſe from Tree or Wood)* into pewter, and wooden ſpoons into ſilver or tin. For ſo common were all ſort of treene veſſels in old time, that a man ſhould hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a ſalt) in a good farmer's houſe. *Deſcription of Britain, chap.* x.——*Again, in chap.* xvi. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes builded of ſallow, willow, &c.; ſo that the uſe of the oak was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, navigation, &c. but now ſallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where regarded; and yet ſee the change; for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houſes are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteration. In theſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defence to keep the houſe in ſafety; but now the aſſurance of the timber muſt defend the men from robbing. Now have we many chimnies; and yet our tenderlines complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poſes; then had we none but reredoſſes, and our heads did never ache. For as the ſmoke in thoſe days was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardening for the timber of the houſe, ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good-man and his family from the quack or poſe, wherewith, as then, very few were acquainted.——*Again, in chap.* xviii. Our pewterers in time paſt employed the uſe of pewter only upon diſhes and pots, and a few other trifles for ſervice; whereas now they are grown into ſuch exquiſite cunning, that they can in manner imitate by infuſion any form or faſhion of cup, diſh, ſalt, or bowl or goblet, which is made by goldſmith's craft, though they be never ſo curious, and very artificially forged. In ſome places beyond the ſea, a garniſh of good flat Engliſh pewter (I ſay flat, becauſe diſhes and platters in my time begin to be made deep, and like baſons, and are indeed more convenient both for ſauce and keeping the meat warm) is almoſt eſteemed ſo precious as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſilver. *If the reader is curious to know the hour of meals in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he may learn it from the ſame Author.* With us the nobility, gentry, and ſtudents,

ſtudents, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to ſupper at five, or between five and ſix at afternoon. The merchants dine and ſup ſeldom before twelve at noon and ſix at night, eſpecially in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high noon, as they call it, and ſup at ſeven or eight: but out of term in our univerſities the ſcholars dine at ten.

Froiſſart mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaſter at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had ſupped. Theſe hours are ſtill more early. It is hard to tell, why, all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amuſements that puſh on the hours gradually? or are the people of faſhion better pleaſed with the ſecrecy and ſilence of nocturnal hours, when the induſtrious vulgar are all gone to reſt! In rude ages, men have few amuſements or occupations but what day-light affords them.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.